

The Potenza Valley Survey: Preliminary Report of Field Campaign 2000

Frank Vermeulen & Catharina Boullart

ABSTRACT

This article presents a new survey programme in the Central-Italian valley of the Potenza, initiated by researchers from Ghent University. The aims and methods of this long term project are briefly summarised, so are the results of the first field campaigns of May and September 2000. The potential of the large survey region is now fully evaluated and the project stands at the threshold of useful contributions to the protohistory and early history of Central-Italy. The intensity of fieldwalking techniques, the use of active remote sensing, the geo-archaeological approach and the association with parallel historical research in the area, all guarantee that this PVS-project can play a role in the current debate among archaeologists concerning long term evolutions of landscapes and ancient settlement systems in Adriatic and Apennine Italy.

THE PVS-PROJECT

Objectives

In January 2000 the Department of Archaeology at Ghent University¹ initiated a new survey project in Italy. Under the heading '*The Potenza Valley Survey. From Acculturation to Social Complexity in Antiquity: A Regional Geo-Archaeological and Historical Approach*' at least 4 years of archaeological fieldwork, geomorphologic analyses and historical and toponymic research are projected. The surveys include full coverage aerial photography and systematic archaeological fieldwalking in a regionally well-defined area. This area of ca. 400 km² is limited to the Potenza valley, a broad river valley linking the Apennine hills to the Adriatic coastline south of Ancona in the central part of the Marche region.

Although the global impact of Roman colonialism in the region is a central objective, it is of primary importance to measure long-term evolutions and changes. Therefore, the ascent of the Iron Age Piceni culture (9th century BC) in the region has been chosen as a flexible starting point and the transformation of the classical society in early medieval times as a

non-abrupt end of the study period. On the regional scale an attempt will be made to reconstruct the human occupation and landscape history of the Potenza area during the first millennium before and after the beginning of our era. The questionnaire involved will try to measure the evolution of social complexity within the studied communities and evaluate all tangible phenomena of acculturation. Special attention will be paid to evolutions towards the possible centralisation of settlements and via early forms of urbanisation, but also in the growing organisation of the landscape (a network of roads, normative land division, structuring of rural exploitation and territories, centralisation of cemeteries and sanctuaries, good exploitation of natural resources, etc.). The later disintegration and change of these processes will also be analysed and explained on a spatial basis. Precisely this long-term view on landscape change and occupation history will allow to place the developments of late antique society (general decline and short upheavals) in a sufficiently broad perspective. On a higher supra-regional scale correlation of the developments in the region must then be sought with the global history of protohistoric, classical and early medieval Italy. But although the survey strategy was designed to answer questions about the protohistoric and early historic periods in particular, other periods are not ignored, and it is intended that the analysis of the survey will range across the whole period of human settlement.

This geo-archaeological and historical analysis has also some methodological objectives. These concern a/o the further development of interdisciplinary geo-archaeological survey methods (including the use of satellite imagery and active aerial photography) and

¹ The project is directed by Prof. Frank Vermeulen and the principal archaeological investigators on the Belgian side include Miss Catharina Boullart and Mr. Patrick Monsieur (Department of Archaeology, Ghent University, Belgium). For the geomorphological aspects close collaboration is obtained with Prof. Morgan De Dapper and Dr. Beata De Vlieghe (Department of Geography, Ghent University). On the Italian side the archaeological department at the University of Macerata (Dr. Umberto Moscatelli) has collaborated intensely in the first campaign. Other Italian institutions, such as the Soprintendenza delle Marche and the University of Camerino, actively support the programme.

the refinement of integrated historical-archaeological GIS-work. The Potenza region can thus be regarded as a test-case for the development of methods for landscape research within a well-defined archaeological and chronological framework.

Study area

The regional scale of the project is limited to the Potenza valley (Fig. 1). The river rises in the central part of the Umbria-Marche Apennine mountains, near the Monte Pennino (1571m). This mountainous interior was subjected to complex orogenic phenomena of subsidence and settling which over the centuries led to the formation of clefts and faults, and the landscape now has a great variety of forms with longitudinal and transverse valleys of alluvial origin in the Apennine range (Fig. 2). One of these is the Potenza valley, which like many parallel valleys crosses the Central Italian region Marche from the west-south-west to the east-north-east, in the direction of the generally flat Adriatic coastline. Due to the proximity of the Apennines to the sea, the conformation of the river valleys and the irregular rainfall, the flow of rivers like the Potenza is rather short and of a torrential nature, catchment basins are underdeveloped and the rivers are not navigable. Over its ca. 80 km long course the Potenza corridor crosses first a mountainous Apennine sector with peaks around 1500m. This sector is divided in almost north-south oriented calcareous ridges (Umbria-Marche ridge and Marche ridge) and an intermediate basin². Near Pioraco, the river runs through a narrow gorge and enters this intermediate basin to shape a much broader valley. After crossing the calcareous eastern ridge, the Potenza valley widens up towards the sea, traversing the wide and fertile Apennine foothill area, bordered by intricate systems of fluvial terraces. Some 15 km north of the river mouth, itself situated in the middle of the flat sand coast, lies the Monte Conero (572 m), an isolated massif rising on the Adriatic coast, composed of calcareous rock, marl and sandstone. The massif is steep and rocky towards the sea but slopes smoothly inland. In ancient times it was covered with thick woods, in perfect harmony with the vegetation and fauna of both Apennines and coast. The mount and its protected natural harbours constituted an important focus of attraction for Greek merchants and settlers, who between the 6th and the 4th centuries BC much frequented the local *emporion* of Numana and Ancona. This stimulated the Potenza river valley to become one of the most important commercial routes of the Central Italian protohistoric period, partly linking the Adriatic sphere to the Tyrrhenian centres in Etruria, Latium and Campania. Not so much the Potenza river itself, but its valley

remained an important corridor for political, economic and cultural contacts between both sides of the peninsula. From the 3rd century BC onwards Roman influence passed through it, using a southern branch of the famous Via Flaminia, with a spin off from the main branch at the Apennine site of Nocera Umbra, leading through the Potenza valley towards the port of Ancona. During late Republican and Imperial times several Roman towns developed in or near the valley floor, such as *Potentia* at the river mouth, *Ricina*, *Trea*, *Septempeda* and *Prolaqueum*. During the turmoil of the end of the Roman West, the location of the region was again of importance, as it lay within the military contact zones of both Longobards and Byzantines, within the then still flourishing Adriatic sphere.

Climatologic conditions, such as temperature, winds, intensity and distribution of precipitations, vary considerably throughout the Potenza valley region, depending on the lie of the mountains, exposure to air currents and the marked differences in altitude of the coastal belt and inland mountains and between valley floors and the peaks. Along the coast the climate is mainly maritime with a limited temperature range and little rainfall; towards the interior, the temperature range increases as do precipitations, reaching as much as 2.000 mm/year in some limited mountainous areas. Snow is frequent in winter, mostly inland, while the rainiest seasons are generally spring and autumn.

Positive elements for the study of acculturation in a region as the Potenza valley are a/o the geographic unity, the presence of a river with sea mouth, the passage of important Roman roads, the attested presence of Roman colonies and towns, the vicinity of an old Greek *emporion*, indications for Roman centuriation and villa systems and the important but ill-known pre-Roman occupation of the Piceni. Geo-archaeological assets are the micro-diversity of the landscape, good cartographic material, good visibility for survey and information from earlier work in the area. Historically important are the good old-toponymic info and the available early written sources and maps.

Strategy

Preparation for a geo-archaeological project as this includes a first global analysis of the landscape as historical territory in view of its chronological evolution and geomorphologic differentiation. This means getting a grip of the character and evolution

² Bisci & Dramis, 1992.

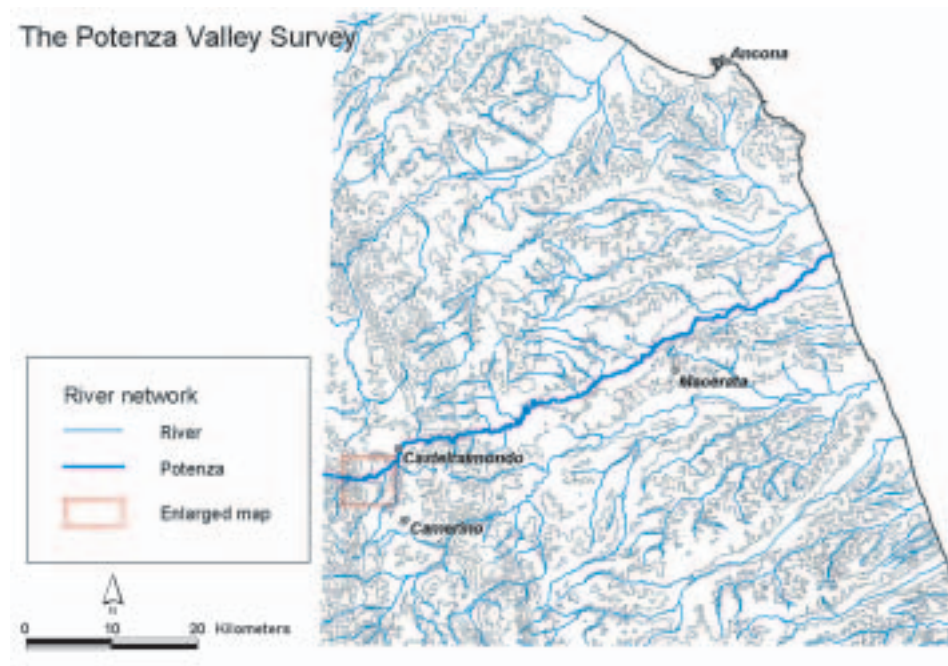


Fig. 1. General location of the 2000 survey area.



Fig. 2. General view of the upper Potenza valley near Fiuminata.

of the natural environment and the types of landscape and micro-landscape involved, analysing the potential of soils and natural sources for human use in the considered past. Basic problems of hydrography and coastal change as well as the general outline of occupation history known from written sources and earlier archaeological research should be assessed. This includes dealing with the research biases inherent in regional archaeological data, including data from rescue excavations, survey, archives and literature.

The main research phase aims at a new and detailed archaeological evaluation of human evolution within the changing landscape from the early Iron age to the early Medieval period, with attention to earlier and later periods of settlement history. This means deployment of the full battery of techniques available to archaeological landscape research in the total area, as well as in well-chosen sample zones evenly distributed over the Potenza valley and nearby hills. The techniques used here include: systematic field-walking, active aerial photography from a low-flying aircraft, regressive study of cartographic material and vertical aerial photographs, study of satellite imagery, research of toponymic and selected historic written information. Where necessary existing archaeological collections and finds will be studied. All geographically linked information will be assembled and analysed, together with results of geomorphologic research, in a Geographic Information System (GIS) specifically developed for this project. It is possible that a second phase of fieldwork will also include some small-scale excavations.

While most of these research activities concern the whole valley, from source to mouth and in width limited by the watersheds of parallel river valleys, the *intensive* field surveys are only being carried out in 3 or 4 large sample zones. They are transects of some 9 to 15 km² each, systematically spaced at regular intervals across the ca. 80 km long region. They cover all the main landscape types of the region and represent in particular the upper, middle and lower valley. They are chosen on geographical grounds, but also on the basis of cultural-historical features, such as the vicinity of Roman towns (for which they acted as hinterland) or of known protohistoric centres, such as hillsites with important elite cemeteries. One of the strengths of this kind of intensive field survey is its ability to shed light on long-term changes in settlement pattern and land use.

Finally the regional results from the Potenza area should be directly confronted with results from systematic survey work elsewhere in Central Italy and beyond, such as recent or on-going intensive surveys in Tuscany, Umbria, Molise, Lazio, Etruria and the Marche.³

ACTIVE AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Methods

In this early stage of the project we are still assembling all kinds of data for different types of remote sensing procedures. These concern, amongst others, satellite data and vertical aerial photographs for geomorphologic mapping and additional geo-archaeological detection and site-analysis. Different excellent series of vertical aerial photographs of the Potenza area, made by the I.G.M.I. and other institutes and firms,⁴ as well as the satellite data (e.g. from Thematic Mapper and Soyuz) will be studied in digital format within a GIS environment. Results from such analyses will be presented in a later communication.

It is a major aim of the PVS-project to supplement this remote sensing material, made available through different sources, by new images from the air with a more direct archaeological impact. Therefore, the programme comprises a regular series of flights above the whole region to take aerial photographs from low altitude. The photographic detection of sites and off-site phenomena from a low flying aircraft has already proven to be quite successful in many areas and the know-how developed at the Department of Archaeology of Ghent University and obtained during almost 20 years of intensive flying and photographing in Western Belgium,⁵ guarantees some success with this method.

In a first phase the whole Potenza valley will be photographed, with regular flights in different seasons. Much of the data obtained in this way will support the geomorphologic and landscape studies in the area. Especially specific analyses, such as of erosion phenomena, the precise location of river terraces, ancient and modern water sources, fluvial movements through time and changes in land use, will be much helped with the introduction of these detailed and flexible views from above. Their impact on the presence and spread of archaeological features will no doubt be clearer.

The second phase of active aerial photography is aimed at the detection of previously unknown

³ See e.g. Witcher 1999, Barker 1995, Attema et alii 1998, Pasquinucci/Menchelli 1999, di Gennaro 2000 and Moscatelli 1997.

⁴ Use will be made of, a/o, the R.A.F. photographs and of the excellent post-war pictures of the *volo base* (Moscatelli 1988, p.7). We wish to thank Prof. Giuliano Rodolfi for the acquisition of the latter photographs of the investigated area.

⁵ See: Bourgeois et al. 2001. Much of this work in Belgium is achieved by pilot-photographer Mr. Jacques Semey, who also participates in the PVS-project.

archaeological features in the crops, ploughed fields and other surface coverage. Such results will be pursued by very regular flights in the whole Potenza region and especially in the 3 or 4 transects chosen for intensive fieldwalking campaigns. In all areas, whether only extensively or also intensively fieldwalked, the potential archaeological indications from the air are to be checked on the ground. This will, as much as possible, be done in the same general period (week or month) of their first detection from the air.

Special attention will also be given to the areas of known archaeological sites in the valley, in particular the sites of the Roman towns and their immediate hinterland, some of which are fortunately almost completely devoid of later constructions (e.g. *Potentia*, *Ricina*, *Septempeda*).

Aerial photography has been proven to be a valuable tool in archaeological survey. In particular simple large-scale photography from a small aircraft is useful, as photographs can be made easily in the most appropriate season, weather and light conditions.⁶ In general our survey method is traditional: most flights are executed in spring, summer or early fall, the observation altitude is about 1000 feet, while many oblique photographs are made at some 300-500 feet, using standard reflex cameras (24x36 mm) for slides and colour prints with normal films. Important however is the idea that rather small areas will be controlled several times a year, which makes it possible to organize a real follow up. We are convinced that this follow up of limited areas, such as the chosen transects, is an important element in a full comprehension of the archaeological structures present in the soil; indeed, one encounters many examples of truly remarkable 'evolutions' of archaeological sites due to totally different detection opportunities over different moments, seasons or years.

All aerial photographs will be stored in the Geographic Information System of the project. A GIS fundamentally links geometric data and non-spatial attribute data, allowing new ways of powerful data exploration, querying and analysis. Oblique aerial photographs have complex geometric distortions and can not be mapped automatically in an easy way. Digital image processing and remote sensing and GIS-software offer new possibilities.⁷ Procedures for scanning, warping and geo-referencing the photographic images will be used to fully integrate the aerial data in the spatial analysis and interpretation of the sites.

First results

During the first year of the project several flights were organized in the months of May and September

2000.⁸ Besides general reconnaissance and landscape coverage of the whole Potenza valley these flights aimed respectively at an evaluation of the potential for detection of archaeological features in the crops (crop marks) and in ploughed fields (soil marks). Both types of fields produced very promising results. A follow up of detected traces on the ground in the whole territory, as well as further flights in different climatic and seasonal conditions are awaited before the technique and its biases can be fully assessed. In particular its confrontation with the results of intensive survey should be relevant.

The dataset of possible archaeological structures present in the now assembled collection of some 800 oblique aerial photographs is most diverse. The total number of processed sites in the inventory where possible field structures (such as lines, patches and dots) appear, reaches about 100 units. Although many have now been checked in the field, or coincide with areas within our first transect of intensive fieldwalking (see further) it still remains impossible to attach a chronological value to many of the structures without further field checks or even excavations. Still, in almost 30% of all cases checked on the ground a first chronological indication is available.

Especially the many *soil marks* observed in the ploughed fields of the area of intensive fieldwalking near Camerino (see further) coincide well with concentrations of settlement debris on the surface (*Fig. 3*). A majority of these belong to the more visible Roman period, but also sites of Stone, Bronze or Iron age were sometimes neatly visible from the sky. Some of these darker brownish patches in the ploughed soil, probably the result of ploughed up occupation layers and zones with locally more organic substance in the upper layers, appear near areas of obvious surface erosion. A detailed GIS-analysis of these many soil marks, directly to be confronted with the observed spread of artefact concentrations, is awaited before this phenomenon can be correctly interpreted.

The potential for observing *cropmarks* in this still very agrarian area seems also good, although to check this only flights in the springtime were organised. The flights during the month of May 2000 covered the whole region of the Potenza valley, but some more attention was given to the area of the river

⁶ See e.g. Agache 1962, Scollar 1965, Wilson 1975, Dassié 1978.

⁷ Antrop/Wiedemann 2001.

⁸ Due to climatological circumstances the total number of flight hours was limited to 8 hours.



Fig. 3. Aerial view on soilmarks (darkbrown areas) of Bronze Age and Roman settlements in the narrow upper valley.



Fig. 4. Circular cropmarks near Passo di Treia could indicate the presence of Piceni burials.



Fig. 5. General view of the fieldwalking area of 2000 with on left, between the mountains, the Pioraco gorge.

mouth. At present, in this very early state of the project, it seems that the technique of oblique aerial photographs is very useful here for the detection and analysis of protohistoric and Roman settlements, ancient field systems, Roman roads and probably also Iron Age cemeteries. Among the newly detected settlements which need further checking in the fields, we can mention the presence of at least 3 sites with villa-like features, all located near the Roman town of *Potentia*, not far from the Adriatic shoreline and a major protohistoric site on a promontory north of the river mouth. New elements of the topography (urban street pattern, city walls) were discovered in several Roman towns, especially *Ricina* and *Potentia*. Elements of the Roman road system in the valley were also discovered, such as parts of the Via Flaminia branch near Pioraco in the upper valley and a not yet known road leaving the city of *Potentia* at its southern gate.

Several sites in the middle and lower valley could point at the presence of as yet undiscovered Iron age cemeteries. The latter have good visibility ratings due to the presence in some of them of ditches enclosing (élite) graves. A particular clear example of at least 3 adjoining circular crop marks found near the centre of Passo di Treia (Fig. 4), a part of the Potenza valley where Piceni graves and settlements were formerly identified,⁹ will be investigated in detail during the 2001 field campaign.

A third type of marks, *shadow marks*, particularly associated with earthworks and human adaptations of the relief, were encountered in a limited number

of areas. Such traces seem to occur especially in the mountainous landscapes, which need further attention in future flights. Very spectacular were the shadow traces of a protohistoric ritual (?) and settlement site, known from earlier discoveries¹⁰ on the Monte Primo, near Camerino. Although the main surface features of this important site were traced during earlier work, a flight in September 2000 was very useful. It assembled data for the further detailed mapping of this monumental site and brought to light several new features.

FIELD CAMPAIGN IN THE CAMERINO AREA

Microregion

The main area investigated during the September 2000 campaign is situated in the upper Potenza Valley in the region in between the actual centres of Pioraco in the west, Castelraimondo in the east and Camerino in the south (Fig. 5). The area covers some territory of these three municipalities. It defines an area of about 9 km² and consists mainly (more than 80%) of agricultural land, used for wheat-growing and other crops with only small areas of grassland, some scattered vineyards and mostly small holdings. The steep edges of many of the gullies in this area

⁹ See: Sgubini Moretti 1977 and Naso 1999.

¹⁰ Bonomi Ponzi 1992.



Fig. 6. Line-walking on a field near Pioraco. The lighter patches in the ploughed zone indicate the presence of gravel.

are left to brush maquis vegetation, with only tiny pockets of trees. The higher scarps of the hills, with their mixed wooded vegetation cover lie mostly outside our prospection area. Several perennial springs emerge more or less at the 400m contour interval and bring water to the slopes. They feed torrents that eventually end in the Potenza river, which crosses our area centrally from west to east. Present-day human occupation is essentially restricted to several small villages and hamlets (e.g. Seppio, Mecciano, Mergnano, Brondoleto,...) and other modern disturbance confined to a stone quarry and a small, but fast developing industrial area near the Potenza river.

This area was not arbitrarily chosen. From the Potenza source westwards, it shows the first real broadening of the valley after the narrow Pioraco gorge, where the river leaves the mountainous Umbria-Marche Apennine ridge and enters an intermediate basin. It is still a very hilly landscape, but here the Potenza valley offers for the first time enough arable land for widespread human settlement since prehistoric times. Due to its position in the intermediate basin the area is situated on the crossroads of two intramontane corridors. The first is the Potenza valley which is directed west-east and which links the Apennine Mountains with the Adriatic coast. The second gives passage from the Colfiorito area in the south to the Esino valley northwards. They cross each other southwest from Castelraimondo.¹¹ Both corridors played an important role in the (proto-)history of this region.¹²

Immediately outside the main survey area we also investigated extensively two smaller zones: a small valley area in Fiuminata situated about 9 km west of Pioraco¹³ and the top of the Monte Primo to check some of the archaeological structures known from literature¹⁴ and made visible on our aerial photographs.

Archaeological field methods

The area chosen for intensive fieldwalking was subdivided into independently walked 'fields', defined by modern field boundaries or topographic breaks, and characterised by homogeneous (mostly good) surface visibility and land use. The field survey method used during this campaign is based on intensive line walking by a team of 5 to 12 persons. Hereby we used an interval of 15 meters in between walkers (Fig. 6). The collected items for each line are bagged separately, provided with the year, the field number as well as the line number. Whenever the number of pottery, found on a line, changes importantly, the

¹¹ Biocco 1997, 308.

¹² Bonomi Ponzi 1992.

¹³ This zone was investigated at the special request of the mayor of Fiuminata, Claudio Mazzalupi, archaeologist and host of the 'Agriturismo La Castagna' where the whole crew was accommodated.

We wish to thank Mr. Mazzalupi for the excellent stay, for the local scientific information which he provided and for the acquisition of a depot at Fiuminata in order to be able to stock the archaeological finds of this campaign in a proper way.

¹⁴ Bonomi Ponzi 1992.

beginning and the end of this so-called concentration is marked in the field with small flags. In these concentration zones nothing is to be collected immediately. When the whole field has been walked, the team returns to the marked concentrations and executes a detailed random search.

A total of some 50 sites were defined on the basis of comparatively higher surface artefact density or by the presence of certain anomalies. The material of each concentration is collected in bags labelled with the year and the concentration number. In the middle of each concentration the exact position is measured by means of handheld GPS (Global Positioning System) instruments. Important isolated finds, such as identifiable prehistoric artefacts, are also located in this way.

For each field a form is filled (form A) with data on the field's conditions, such as topography, land use, visibility, weather condition, soiltype, etc. For each concentration we mark information about its density, the concentration extend, etc. Furthermore, a description and a first opinion about the general date and the function of the site or isolated find is added. As these standardized fieldforms have now proven to be adequate they will be used again during the following campaigns.

Site density is expressed in terms of low, medium and high. Thereby, 'low' means at most 10 artefacts/m², a medium site density contains between 11 and 19 artefacts/m² and a high site density means that at least 20 artefacts were found in one m². Also the offsite density is taken into account: it is measured in a straight line pick up of 50 meters long. At most 5 artefacts means the offsite density is low, between 6 and 14 artefacts stands for a medium offsite density and a high offsite density requires at least 15 artefacts. These categories were applied on fields with good visibility, which means on the majority (about 95%) of the total surveyed area of this campaign.

Precise localisation and site mapping was achieved for all sites, with the help of GPS technology, modern cadastral maps (1/2.000) and IGM topographic maps (1/25.000). Additional drawings of other surface structures and some sections were also made. The location of all sites and special finds is automatically digitised (using ArcGIS) and the artefact databases joined to the GIS using provenience ID.

The processing of archaeological material

All potential chronologically diagnostic artefacts, all feature sherds (rims, bases, handles), all prehistoric pottery, and all lithics were collected during the rou-

tine field survey and bagged as a group according to field number. They were immediately processed and only partially studied during this field campaign. Although the artefacts have been classified by ware, and in many cases by shape, more work needs to be done on the pottery typologies to improve the dating. This is being kept for a study season at the end of the project. The analyses offered here are, therefore, only provisional and they will no doubt need to be modified as work progresses.

This information on the artefacts per field is first noted on another form (B), developed for this project.¹⁵ As the September 2000 campaign was the very first to be achieved in the Potenza region, this form will need further adjustments in the future. All diagnostic material will be described and analysed in a very detailed way in a third form C, which is in full development and will be ready for the next campaign, during which also the material of the September 2000 campaign will be further analysed. All artefact data are imported in an originally elaborated database, structured in Microsoft Access. This makes it very easy to find at once the detailed description of a particular sherd, together with the information about the concentration in which it has been found, as well as information about the field conditions at the moment of discovery.

Geomorphologic work

The geomorphologic work in this project is firmly interlinked with the archaeological questionnaire. It includes the processing and analysis of all relevant cartographic material and general remote sensing data, many field observations on the surface (with the use of coring and in sections) and in particular makes full use of the results of our aerial survey work. During the first fieldwork campaign Prof. M. De Dapper and his team have restricted their field analyses to testing the potential of specific geo-archaeological approaches in the upper-Potenza area, such as:

- * the correlation of prehistoric sites with the occurrence of gravel terraces,
- * the location of protohistoric settlements near former source areas and aquifers,
- * the impact of processes of erosion on the interpretation of surface phenomena.

A forthcoming full report of their findings in the 2000 field campaign will also include observations made during the next campaign in 2001, as well as

¹⁵ We sincerely thank our colleagues Helen Patterson and Rob Witcher from the British School at Rome for providing us with information on form types used in the Tiber Valley Project.

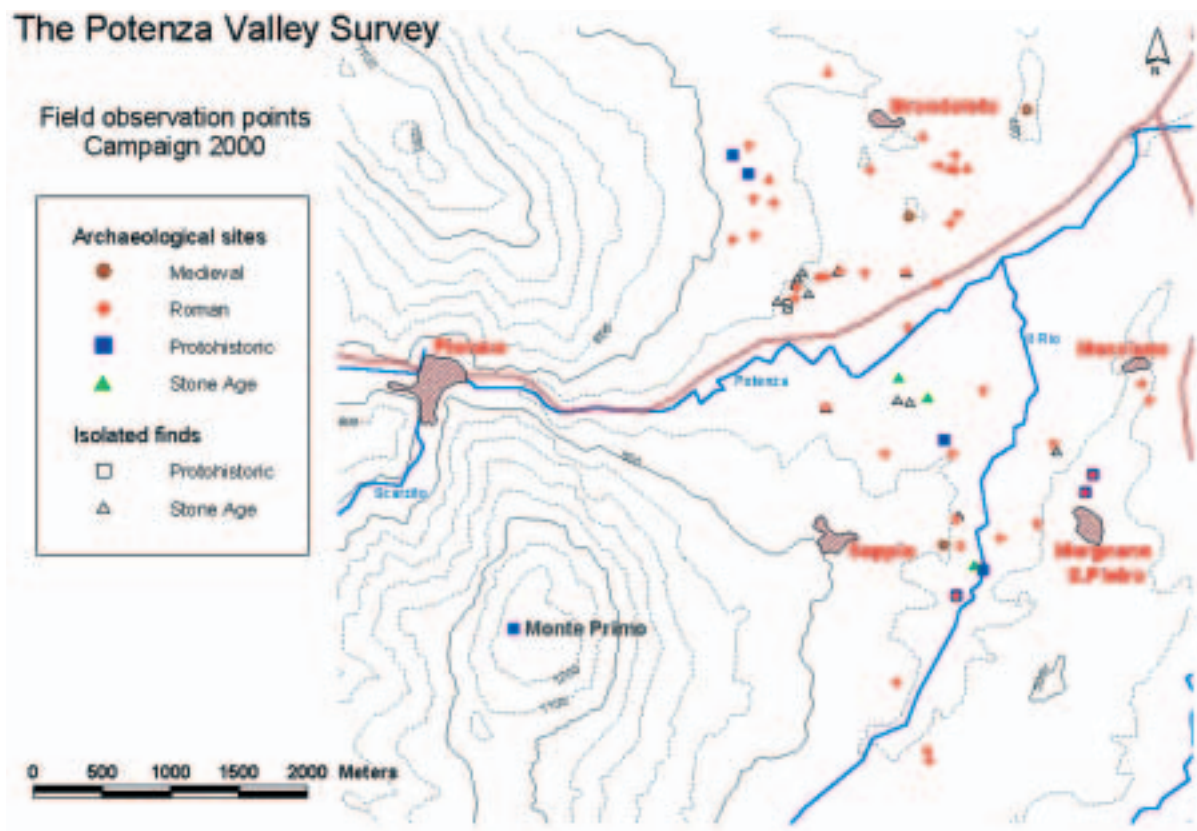


Fig. 7. Summarized results of the fieldwalking campaign in September 2000.

the details about the elaboration of the Geographic Information System developed for this project.

Summary of the archaeological findings (Fig. 7)

** Stone Age*

The prehistoric sites recorded during this campaign are generally represented by lithics, primarily flint, only in three cases found in very distinct concentrations. Two of them lie close to each other on a gravel terrace immediately south of the Potenza River, while the third site is also located in an area with a stream (Il Rio) nearby.

Most prehistoric finds, some 35 flint artefacts and a handful of possible Neolithic potsherds, lay more or less isolated, most often in locations north of the Potenza River, in the lowest area near the river.

The oldest lithics were isolated: e.g. a Middle-Palaeolithic (Mousterian) triangular point (Fig. 8),¹⁶ and a Palaeolithic hand-axe. Furthermore we have inventoried several scrapers, lames, blades, arrow-heads, cores and chips,¹⁷ generally of Palaeolithic or

Neolithic date. They attest of a widespread human presence in the area over long periods.

The most convincing prehistoric site was found close to the southern edge of the Potenza River. The concentration consists of artefacts and lots of pieces of flint-working activities, including a core, mostly in reddish-brown flint. A late Neolithic date is probable for this high density site, but more precise chronometry is still awaited. Several more or less isolated arrow-heads in brownish flint and a smaller concentration of lithics found nearby could be connected to this site. The location of the site is remarkable. The concentration of artefacts corresponds with a somewhat low-lying oval zone (about 50 cm long and 30 m wide) of darker grey earth situated exactly where the colluvium is the thinnest and where the underlying gravel terrace almost surfaces. This site-location is not arbitrary as the raw material for the production of flint tools is available here at half a meter depth

¹⁶ Identification by Dott.ssa. M. Silvestrini (Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche).

¹⁷ The lithic material is not yet studied in detail. A specialist report will comprise the material from several campaigns.



Fig. 8. Mousterian point found north of the Potenza river.



Fig. 9. A protohistoric settlement was revealed by clearly visible traces of ploughed up pits.

only. This certainly attracted the early settlers as much as the vicinity of the Potenza river.

Unfortunately the gravel terraces in this region today are still subject to intensive exploitation for building materials. This prehistoric site, which lies at the very edge of the modern gravel quarry, is obviously disturbed by it and so parts of the site were already destroyed at the moment of discovery. The threat to this site was immediately reported to the competent authorities.¹⁸

* Bronze and Iron Age

The artefact sites found in the main survey area of the September 2000 campaign which we classified as protohistoric can at present not be dated very precisely. The generally thick, dark-reddish very coarse pottery wares (impasto) and sometimes also smoother and thinner greyish sherds found here are generally

not very diagnostic and not suited for further distinctions in Bronze or Iron age phases. Furthermore, it is still difficult to evaluate precisely what exactly is the status of these small protohistoric sites and pottery scatters within our survey record. Earlier Italian surveys¹⁹ and also excellent recent work in Greece²⁰ already made clear that the protohistoric equivalent of a small historic farmstead with hundreds of sherds collectable today on the surface will be represented by a handful of sherds only in a normal surface collection.

A total of 9 small concentrations of such protohistoric pottery, possibly representing small (wandering?) settlements, were found north and south of the river, generally at some distance from the Potenza. Interestingly they are often located near the edge of almost theatre-shaped depressions, which the geomorphologists identified as former water sources, i.e. natural springs. One of these sites, on the territory of Pioraco, was also located near the confluence of two torrents. The concentration of artefacts coincides here with large spots of dark grey soil spread over a small area, not more than 15x10m large (Fig. 9). These spots, possibly remains of ploughed up pits, are not more than 1.5 m diameter wide. They have an irregular shape and contain fragments of protohistoric pottery and associated unburned bone fragments. The bones belong to pig, cow-like animals and sheep or goat.²¹ The preponderance of medium-sized animals leads to the conclusion that this is indeed a settlement area with some pastoral activity. Some pottery evidence suggests a Late Bronze/Early Iron Age date.

Also in the small survey area upstream, on Fiuminata territory, we located a very distinct protohistoric site. It was found in the middle of a long field parallel to the road to Rome, at some 70 meters from the left bank of the Potenza. It was clearly visible, also from the air (Fig. 3), by a dark greyish brown soil with which the potsherds are associated. Most pieces of pottery are found on the northern edge of this field, where the surface lies some 30 to 50 cm higher than the surrounding area. This site seems to represent a small type of permanent settlement in a part of the narrow valley of the Potenza where just enough land is available for small scale agricultural and pastoral activities.

¹⁸ This file is now being handled by Dott.ssa. M. Silvestrini.

¹⁹ Di Gennaro/Stoddart 1982.

²⁰ Bintliff 1998.

²¹ Identification by archaeo-zoologist Prof. A. Gautier (Ghent University).



Fig. 10. Aerial view of the protohistoric structures on the Monte Primo.

Our short visit to the top of the Monte Primo, outside the intensive survey zone, was intended to confirm the existence here of the very important protohistoric site, known in literature as a Bronze Age sanctuary and a seasonal settlement area,²² and possibly make additional observations based on our aerial photographs. The Monte Primo site covers about one hectare and lies between altitudes of 1285 and 1300 meters. It is accessible from the south and east side of the mountain. Both approaches fuse into a single pathway, delineated by natural rocks on one side and by artificial ramparts and ditches on the other. The total area is divided into four enclosures (*Fig. 10*). The outer circumvallation was probably built to protect the entrance to the real settlement area. A second rampart is interrupted at the north edge of the mountain: it is a rocky and very steep area, so an artificial defence there was of no use. At a distance of about 10 meters, parallel with this second defensive wall, a third one is built. Finally also the very top of the Monte Primo is demarcated.²³ We recorded that the almost flattened top with steep slopes is surrounded by 3 concentric circles with a preserved height of about 2 m. In between them there is an alley of about 2 m. wide.

In 1970 the Soprintendenza delle Marche did some small-scale excavation work at the very top of this

site. They revealed archaeological remains, datable to the Late Bronze Age as well as some Iron Age finds. Also some bronze objects, in schematic human form, are mentioned in the report.²⁴ Unfortunately these kind of artefacts also attracted illegal diggers to the mountain. When we visited this area we spotted indeed a recently dug pit at the north-east edge of the top. The pit is rectangular, about 1.5 x 1 meter. Between pieces of limestone and black dislodged earth tombaroli left pieces of Bronze Age potsherds and some fragments of animal bone (essentially sheep-goat, pig and cattle), burned as well as unburned pieces.

The topographic position of the Monte Primo and the character of the finds lead scholars, as Bonomi Ponzi²⁵ and Lollini, to the conclusion that we deal here with a cult place, originally situated on the very top of the Monte Primo. The selection of this place for a sanctuary-like destination is not arbitrary. The Monte Primo dominates the crucial passage of the Potenza-river valley and is an excellent spot to observe bird migration, a very important activity in protohistoric Italic culture. It seems

²² Bonomi Ponzi 1992, 208-210.

²³ Bonomi Ponzi 1992, 208.

²⁴ Bonomi Ponzi 1992, 208.

²⁵ Bonomi Ponzi 1992, 210.



Fig. 11. Extensive soil marks of a Roman settlement area near Seppio.

very likely that it was also the place of seasonal settlement activity in the transition phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages. The attraction of the summer grazing grounds for pastoral activities, as well as its control function by an emerging élite of society, are both particular assets in this respect.

* Roman period

The September field campaign yielded up to 42 Roman settlement sites in the main prospection area only, which is an explosive increase of the almost nonexistent number of Roman settlements in the area known from regional inventories before our surveys.²⁶ These Roman sites are scattered all over the landscape. In some cases it is clear that different concentrations on the same or adjoining large fields belong together. We then could distinguish a main settlement area where household pottery, common building materials (tile, brick, local stone) and in

some cases even more luxurious products, such as glass, marble or *tesserae*, were found. In the immediate neighbourhood fine line-walking then revealed often one or more smaller surface concentrations, which mainly consisted of Roman building materials and should thus be interpreted as secondary buildings. Regrouping of the artefact concentrations of this period still leaves us with some 30 newly discovered Roman sites. Although in some cases a distinct date in late Republican, Early or Late Imperial phases can be proposed, further pottery research is awaited before chronological groupings and counts per period are possible. Only then will it be possible to study phenomena such as: continuity or discontinuity of occupation with other periods, shifts in settlement location within the Roman period, detailed comparison of site sizes, etc.

Although small elements of luxury material (see above) were distinguished, and some fine pottery such as terra sigillata or black glazed wares, is present on most of these sites, it is unlikely that we have recorded the presence of large villa complexes. Most, if not all sites should probably be interpreted as more or less isolated, fairly simple farmsteads, widely scattered over the landscape (Fig. 11). Their position seems influenced by topographical features, such as the presence of plateaux or easy slopes with excellent views towards the river, good possibilities for agricultural land use, the nearness of water sources and the relation to the Via Flaminia or other roads. On-going preparations for spatial analysis of this site distribution within a GIS-environment will have to determine what were the main factors involved in choosing these sites.

This evidence for a preponderance of simple farmsteads does however not mean that richer villa-settlements were completely absent from this mountainous region. Such sites could indeed in post-Roman times have evolved into medieval villages, some of which might still exist today and hide the ancient villa sites. Several place names still present in the area today, such as those terminating with *-ano* and *-iano*, may be reminiscent of Roman settlement. It is, therefore, important to note that we found Roman settlement structures, including some luxury material, at the very edge of the small village of Mecciano (Fig. 12). No doubt this site, with its excellent location on a hilly plateau overlooking the Potenza stream, might be of much greater size and importance than most of the other Roman settlements we recorded, but now lies partly underneath the present-day village buildings.

²⁶ Mercado 1979.

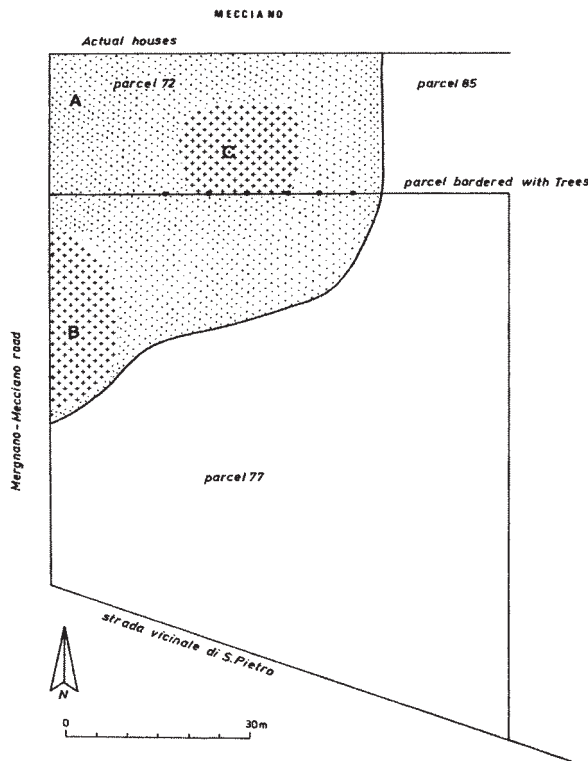


Fig. 12. Simplified plan of a Roman artefact concentration near Mecciano.

The part of this Roman settlement which we could investigate shows a very dense, wide and well delineated concentration near the top of the south-east oriented slope of the Mecciano plateau. It consists of large numbers of Roman pottery sherds and building material, such as tegulae and dense scatters of stone material. Within the general concentration (A) we observe the existence of at least two zones of buildings *in situ*. Zone B, which probably represents a large building with a north-south orientation, has lots of tegulae and pottery. Zone C, in the centre of the main concentration, reveals much stone material such as large limestone pebbles and some big blocks of sandstone. They mark a building of some 15x12 m. with a more or less east-west orientation.

A second settlement site with a villa-like appearance was recorded on a flat to gently sloping part of the generally west-east oriented slope at the foot of the Castel Santa Maria mountain, north of the Pioraco-gorge. Here we found a very large (100x60 m.), also quite well delineated and very dense concentration of Roman artefacts. The concentration

zone has an irregular shape, probably the result of different areas of buildings. To the east the whole concentration area is well delineated by a talus of about 4 meters high. This talus, in which we discovered an enormous block of limestone, could be reminiscent of the original terrace wall of the settlement. To the north and south the delineation is less marked due to the dispersion of the finds as a result of ploughing and erosion downwards the slopes. The western edges are, however, also quite sharp. Within the major concentration different features can be distinguished (Fig. 13). Zone A, the most dense area, consists of many fragments of building stones such as limestone blocks, several big blocks of sandstone and some limestone conglomerates. Part of this stone material shows obvious traces of working. Furthermore, this zone contains many fragments of tegulae and imbrices and a good number of pottery sherds, some of which belong to fine wares (terra sigillata, Campanian). Within this more or less L-shaped area, which might represent two buildings, some lines of stones suggest the *in situ* location of walls. Zone B on the plan marks the general extent of the living area and contains less building materials and pottery. Locally small cores of tile seem to indicate the presence of secondary buildings. To the west of this zone a small unploughed area full of big stones could mark the presence of remaining wall structures, but as large limestone blocks occur here naturally, this feature could also have a natural explanation.

It is possible that the site hierarchy of the area counts even more sites other than simple farmsteads. The presence of a huge, well-worked, white marble block, which we found at the edge of one of the surveyed fields north of the Potenza river, as well as earlier accidental finds in the municipalities of Brondoleto and Seano,²⁷ might suggest the existence of more villa-type settlement structures in this area, or even of some public monument(s) or building structures, such as a sanctuary.

* Early Middle Ages

The early medieval period as such is a problematic issue in survey studies in Italy and beyond. Several waves of invasions and the imposing of heavy taxes contributed to a decline of rural life in Late Antiquity. Even allowing for problems of dating in the later 5th and 6th centuries,²⁸ the archaeological evidence of several regional studies²⁹ point

²⁷ Biocco 1997, 308.

²⁸ Sagui 1998.

²⁹ Such as: Arthur 1991, Barker 1995, Migliario 1995, Moreland 1987, Paroli 1997, Potter 1979.

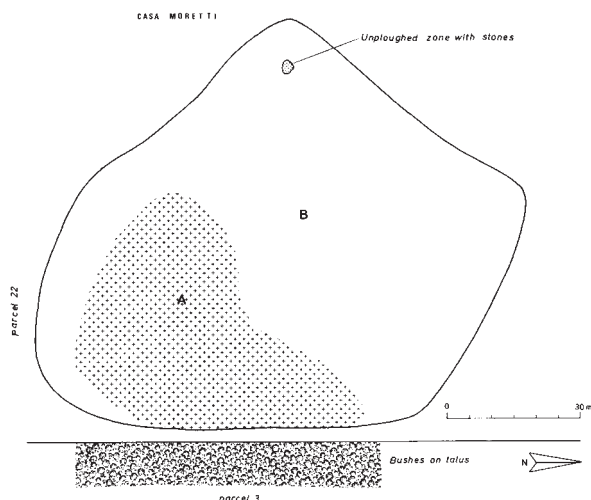


Fig. 13. Simplified plan of a Roman artefact concentration on the eastern slopes of the Monte Castel S. Maria.

to a rural site abandonment in Northern and Central Italy. As in other regions of Italy, where intensive survey looked at the rural landscape in more detail, strong changes in occupation pattern and density are also known in the Marche region.³⁰ Our first fieldwalking campaign in the Camerino area confirms this general picture. After a firm reduction of sites during late Roman times³¹ a much sharper decline of sites is visible from the later 5th century onwards.

According to our limited results, with only a handful of probable medieval sites located and even small numbers of isolated well-dated medieval pottery found, the location on small hilltops might not be unusual for settlements in this period. All three spots indicated on the distribution map that seem to contain a medieval pottery concentration, are located on a certain altitude in the landscape. All these locations need to be investigated further to determine their specific history and date. It must be stressed that the medieval and late medieval surface material was particularly scarce in both field and site collections, in comparison with Roman and post-medieval material.

Detailed mapping of settlement-toponyms, regressive cartographic research and the use of monastery records will be helpful in retracing rural occupation in Late Roman and Early medieval times, and describing the evolution from a widely dispersed to a more condensed settlement pattern, consisting of small hamlets and villages.³² The Potenza survey could then contribute to the debate concerning the

post-Roman landscape in Italy: a transition from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages characterised by the development of nucleated hilltop villages, a process known as *incastellamento*.³³ Some recent surveys³⁴ suggested that the roots of this process, traditionally placed between the 9th and 11th centuries, are much older, and that they may even go back to 5th-7th c. AD developments.

CONCLUSIONS

It must be clear from the above presentation of the project and of some results during the 2000 campaigns that we cannot yet present to the reader far reaching conclusions about the early settlement history in parts of the Potenza valley. Much work still has to be done, especially linked with the precise dating of the archaeological finds observed through fieldwalking and aerial photography. Some trends, especially concerning the upper valley, the area of our first field campaign, are however already visible. Rigid climatologic conditions and the presence of an immense forest have prevented that during the Palaeolithic period the upper valley of the Potenza corridor was more than occasionally visited by small groups of hunter-gatherers. Still, as the corridor of this river, especially deep and narrow near the Pioracogorge, was also ideally located for the interception of migrating animals, hunting activities are attested at least from the Middle-Palaeolithic period onwards.

The first permanent sites of farmers in the upper valley, during the late Stone Age, were it seems generally of small size. At least some of them are bound to readily available flint on the gravel terraces near the Potenza or on some higher hill crests and had a stable character.

The settlement pattern of the later Bronze Age and Iron Age could have been dual, with on one side the large defended hilltop site of the Monte Primo dominating a society based on pastoral activities (transhumance) and forestry. From this high hilltop plateau, where security and probably common religious activities were major factors, parts of the surrounding countryside were certainly cultivated. This resulted in a second part of the scheme, with a range of very small valley and lower hillslope sites, intimately bound to

³⁰ Alfieri 1981, Profumo 1998.

³¹ We must await detailed study of the pottery to assess which percentage of Mid-Roman sites persists after the 3rd century crisis.

³² Moscatelli 1993, idem 1995.

³³ Cambi et al. 1994, Feller 1994, Galié 1991, Giuntella 1994.

³⁴ Barker 1995, Wickham 1989.

water supplies, such as the Potenza river and ancient natural springs. The latter abound especially close to the 400m. contour. The move into unprotected sites in the open countryside at a time that was still dangerous could be a consequence of the population expansion since the late Bronze Age and into the Iron Age. This no doubt provoked fast developments on an ideological and political level.

By the beginning of the Roman period (3rd century B.C.) rural settlement and land exploitation had expanded beyond the settlements on the higher slopes of the valley onto the better drained soils of the river alluvium and low hillslopes bordering the Potenza basin. A preference for the northern side of the Potenza valley, on hillslopes with a southern or western orientation seems obvious. The dense Roman settlement shows a picture of small to large, be it not very luxurious rural farms. Some of them, especially on flat hilltop locations, were possibly of the villa type. The comparatively dense carpet of Roman sherds between the 350 and 450 m. altitude would seem partially to correspond to the most intensively cultivated part of the Roman landscape. The presence of many settlements in this area, especially in locations on the margin between the well-watered soils of the basin floor (pasture?) and the land on the lower slopes of the surrounding hills (cultivation?), is remarkable. It is not clear yet whether this density coincides with a more or less rigid pattern of local division of land and domains. Beside this pattern in the valley, the Roman exploitation of the mountains probably occurred mainly through the agency of shepherds, stock-watchers and foresters, whose traces in the archaeological record are notoriously elusive.³⁵

The late antique and early medieval phases show an evident fall in the site rosters, which however seems less evident in the largest category of settlements. Several larger mid-Imperial sites show signs of continuity in the 4th and 5th century A.D. Further work should evaluate whether such a late blossom of several sites could be connected with the historic revival of the Adriatic sphere in Late Antiquity. The medieval settlement, however, looks fairly thin within our transect, but this view may be obstructed by the existence of strong settlement continuity within the limits of the present-day villages, hamlets and some well located large farms.

The Potenza Valley Survey has already produced data that demand a major reappraisal of different notions about the human exploitation of the region in the past. This will be even more apparent once the chronology of the new sites is further developed, geo-archaeological analyses finalised, remote sens-

ing information fully processed and also lower parts of the valley surveyed. The baselines for future work in the area are now fully traced.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The project is financed by generous research grants from Ghent University (BOF-project) and the Flemish National Fund for Scientific research. The fieldwork much profited from the close collaboration with a team of the University of Macerata and especially Prof. Umberto Moscatelli. The field survey was carried out within the Regione delle Marche and the PVS-team is grateful to the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche and especially to Soprintendente Dott. Giuliano de Marinis, Dott.ssa. Mara Silvestrini, Ispettrice for the area and Dott.ssa. Edvige Percossi for their support and expertise. We are also especially grateful to Dott. Claudio Mazzalupi, sindaco of Fiuminata and representative of the Comunità Montana, for his great local support.

In addition to the signatories of this article, the fieldwork team of 2000 included: Morgan De Dapper, Umberto Moscatelli, Patrick Monsieur, Jacques Semey, Joris Angenon, Sophie Dralans, Yannick Devos, Izabel Devriendt, An Van den Brecht, Griet Van Heddeghem, Hélène Verreyke, Maarten Weyler, Dimitri Beeckman, Elizabeth De Nys, Nathalie De Visser, Wouter Dhaeze, David Kneuvelds, Vanessa Schelstraete, Lieven Verdonck, Marina Cerquetella, Zuleika Manari, Alessandra D'Ulizia, Viviana Antongirolami, Maria Pastore, Sonia Virgili.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agache, R. 1962, Vues aériennes de la Somme et recherche du passé. In: *Bull. Spécial n° 5 de la Soc. de Préhist. du Nord*, Amiens.
- Alfieri, N. 1985, Le Marche e la fine del mondo antico. In: *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria delle Marche* 86, 109-124.
- Antrop, M. & Wiedemann, T. 2001, Building a GIS for the study of ancient linear marks. In: Vermeulen F. & Antrop M., *Ancient Lines in the Landscape*, BABesch Supplementa 7, Leiden.
- Arthur, P. 1991, *Romans in Northern Campania*, Rome.
- Attema, P. et alii 1998, Case studies in indigenous developments in early Italian centralization and urbanization, a Dutch perspective. In: *Journal of European Archaeology* 1, 3, London, 326-381.
- Barker, G. 1995, *A Mediterranean Valley. Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley*, London, New-York.

³⁵ Coccia/Mattingly 1996.

- Bintliff, J. 1998, Beyond dots on the map: future directions for surface artefact survey in Greece. In: Bintliff, J., Kuna, M. & Venclová, N. *The future of surface artefact survey in Europe*, Sheffield, 3-20.
- Biocco, E. 1997, Castelraimondo (MC). In: *Picus XVII*, 307-309.
- Bisci, C. & Dramis, F. 1991, La geomorfologia delle Marche. In: *Regione Marche-L'ambiente fisico delle Marche*, Selca, Firenze, 81-114.
- Bonomi Ponzi, L. 1992, Occupazione del territorio e modelli insediativi nel territorio Plestino e Camerte in età protostorica. In: *La civiltà picena*, 204-241.
- Bourgeois, J., Meganck, M. & Semey, J. 2001, Aerial photography and the former landscape of western Flanders. In: Vermeulen F. & Antrop M., *Ancient Lines in the Landscape*, *BABesch Supplementa* 7, Leiden.
- Cambi, F., Citter, C., Guideri, S. & Valenti, M. 1994, Etruria, Tuscia, Toscana: la formazione dei paesaggi altomedievali. In: Francovich R. & Noyè G. (eds.), *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, (Siena 1992), Firenze, 183-205.
- Canavagh, W., Crouwel, J., Catling, R.W.V. & Shipley, G. 1997, Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey. Volume II. Archaeological Data. In: *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Supplementary Volume 27, London.
- Coccia, S. & Mattingly, D.J. 1996, Settlement history, environment and human exploitation of an intermontane basin in the central Apennines: the Rieti survey 1988-1991, part II. Land-use patterns and gazetteer. In: *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Volume LXIII, 105-158.
- Dassié, J. 1978, *Manuel d'archéologie aérienne*, Editions Technip, Paris.
- Di Gennaro, F. 2000, The Tiber Valley Project: the Tiber and Rome through two millennia. In: *Antiquity*, 74, n. 284, 395-403.
- Di Gennaro, F. & Stoddart, S. 1982, A review of the evidence for prehistoric activity in part of South Etruria. In: *Proceedings of the British School at Rome* 50, 1-21.
- Feller, L. 1994, Paysages et cadres de vie dans les Abruzzes durant le haut moyen-âge. In: Francovich, R. & Noyè, G. (eds.), *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, (Siena 1992), Firenze, 217-230.
- Galié, V. 1991, *Dall'insediamento preromano e romano al castello del secoli X-XIII. Continuità di vita negli stessi spazi della costa e dell'immediato entroterra tra il Tronto e il Potenza*, Macerata.
- Giuntella, A.M. 1994, L'alto medioevo in Abruzzo alla luce dell'archeologia. In: Francovich R. & Noyè G. (eds.), *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, (Siena 1992), Firenze, 231-249.
- Mazzalupi, C. 1991, *Fiuminata. Segni nel tempo*, Fiuminata.
- Mercando, L. 1979, Marche. Rinvenimenti di insediamenti rurali, *Not. Scavi*, XXXIII, 89-296.
- Migliario, E. 1995, *Uomini, terre e strade. Aspetti dell'Italia centroappenninica fra Antichità e Altomedioevo*, Bari.
- Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza archeologica per le Marche & Comune di Matelica 1999, *Archeologia a Matelica. "Nuove acquisizioni"*, Catalogo della Mostra (Matelica Palazzo Ottoni marzo-ottobre 1999).
- Moreland, J. 1987, The Farfa Survey: A Second Interim Report. In: *Archeologia Medievale*, 14, 409-418.
- Moscattelli, U. 1987, Materiali per la topografia storica di Potentia, in: Paci G., *Materiali di Studi Marchegiani in Onore di Fabio Allevi*.
- Moscattelli, U. 1988, Trea. In: *Forma Italiae*, Roma.
- Moscattelli, U. 1993, Approcci complementari per lo studio della toponomastica prediale romana nelle Marche. In: *Le Marche. Archeologia storia territorio* 4, 99-140.
- Moscattelli, U. 1995, On the evolution of the rural settlement in some territories of the V and VI regio, from the Roman Age to the Early Middle Ages. In: Christie N. (ed.), *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC AD 1500*, Papers of the Vth Conference of Italian Archaeology (Oxford, 11-13 December 1992), Oxbow Monograph 41, Oxford, 303-309.
- Moscattelli, U. 1997, La valle del Fiastra tra Antichità ed Altomedioevo: indagine preliminare, in: Gelichi S., *I Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Pisa, 233-238.
- Naso, A. 1999, *I Piceni. Storia e archeologia delle Marche in epoca preromana*, Milano.
- Paroli, L. (ed) 1997, *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda*, (Ascoli Piceno 1995), Firenze.
- Pasquinucci, M. & Menchelli, S. 1999, The landscape and economy of the territories of Pisae and Volaterrae (coastal North Etruria), *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Vol. 12, 121-141.
- Potter, T.W. 1979, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria*, London.
- Profumo, M.C. 1998, Archeologia nelle Marche: ambito medievale, in: S. Patucci Uggeri (ed.), *Scavi Medievale in Italia 1994-1995*, Roma-Freiburg-Wien, 45-54.
- Saguì, L. (ed.) 1998, Ceramica in Italia: V-VII secolo. In: *Atti del Colloquio in onore di J.W. Hayes* (Roma 1995), Firenze.
- Scollar, I. 1965, *Archäologie aus der Luft*, Rheinland-Verlag, Düsseldorf.
- Sgubini Moretti, A.M. 1977, Scavi e scoperte. Pitino di San Severino Marche. In: *Studi Etruschi*, 45, 472-473.
- Small, A. et al. 1998, Field Survey in the Basentello Valley on the Basilicata-Puglia Border, *Classical Views*, XLII, 337-371.
- Vermeulen, F. 2001, The Potenza Valley Survey. In: Attema, P.J. et al., *Landscape and Settlement Dynamics in early Italy* (Proceedings of the Conference held at Groningen 2000), Groningen.
- Vermeulen, F. et alii 2001, The Potenza Valley Survey: presentation of a project and first results. In: *BABesch*, Leiden.
- Vermeulen, F. 2001, The potential of GIS in landscape archaeology. In: Slapszak B. (ed.), *On the good use of GIS in ancient landscape studies* (Proceedings of the International Workshop held in Ljubljana (December 1998)), Ljubljana.
- Vermeulen, F. & Antrop, M. (eds.) 2001, Ancient Lines in the Landscape. In: *BABesch Supplementa* 7, Leiden.

- Vermeulen, F. & De Dapper, M. 2000, Geo-archaeology of the Landscape in Classical Antiquity. In: *Proceedings of a Congress at Ghent 1998* (BABesch Suppl. 5), Leiden.
- Wickham, C. 1989, Italy and the early Middle Ages. In: Randsborg, K. (ed.), *The Birth of Europe: Archaeology and Social Development in the First millennium A.D.* (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl. 16), Roma.
- Wilson, D. (ed.) 1975, *Aerial reconnaissance for archaeology* (Research report No. 12, The Council for British Archaeology), London.
- Witcher, R. 1999, *Modelling Roman Imperialism: Landscape and Settlement Change in Italy*.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT
 VAKGROEP ARCHEOLOGIE
 BLANDIJNBERG 2
 B-9000 GENT
 TEL. 00 32 9 2644137
 E-MAIL: frank.vermeulen@rug.ac.be

Satricum: Preliminary report of the 2000 excavations by the University of Amsterdam

Marijke Gnade

Archaeological exploration of the ancient settlement of Satricum (Borgo Le Ferriere) was continued during the summer of 2000. For eleven weeks a team from the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Amsterdam carried out excavations on the acropolis, behind the temples of Mater Matuta (*Fig. 1*).¹ This work marked a resumption of activities which had been interrupted for four years, during which our attention was focused on the lower parts of the settlement: e.g. the Poggio dei Cavallari (where a major road was excavated) and the Santa Lucia area (where the presumed remains of the ancient city-wall were investigated).²

About 1200 m² of the acropolis were explored, 250 m² of which had been partially excavated in 1995 (see plan, *Fig. 1*). In order to establish the extent and to complete the plans of previously discovered structures, the research area on the north-eastern sector of the hill was extended in various directions. At the same time, new areas of excavation were opened in the central-eastern and south-eastern sectors.

STONE BUILDINGS ON THE ACROPOLIS

Since the Dutch began excavating there in 1977, a great deal of information has been gathered on the building history of the acropolis. The excavations in front of the temples have revealed numerous tufa foundations belonging to a large variety of structures, which have been dated to the sixth and early fifth centuries BC.³

Among the excavated structures are two large courtyard buildings (A and B) and a number of other structures consisting of one room or of a series of adjacent rooms arranged in an oblong building. The building history of these structures is generally assumed to be closely linked to that of the three main building phases of the central temple of Mater Matuta: i.e. the Sacellum or Temple 0, Temple I and Temple II. Plan, size and orientation are the dominant principles for attribution to a particular period. Like the temples, the structures demonstrate two main orientations, namely N-S (Temples 0 and I) and NE-SW (Temple II).

The area behind the temples presents a similar picture. However, due to the fact that less surface ground has

been removed from this area in recent times, the foundations of the various structures are generally better preserved. The potential for reconstructing the individual buildings is therefore much greater.⁴

At present precise dates for the different structures remain unclear. The pottery offers too little help to establish a detailed chronology. We can say, however, that in Satricum building in stone occurred from the second half of the seventh century BC, which saw the erection of the first stone temple (Temple 0 or the Sacellum).⁵ From that moment the huts on the acropolis were replaced by more permanent buildings with stone foundations and tiled roofs. This change to more permanent structures was probably gradual, as can be inferred from the find of the long timber building AA dated to the second half of the seventh century. Notwithstanding its tiled roof, this building appears to have been constructed of wooden posts and wattle-and-daub.⁶

Around 540 BC Temple 0 was replaced by a larger temple of Etruscan-Italian type (Temple I) which in turn was replaced around 500 BC by another, still larger temple (Temple II), of Greek-Italian type, but with a slightly different orientation.⁷

¹ The excavations were carried out between 10 June and 26 August. The team consisted of 29 people, under the general supervision of the author: eight archaeologists, two geometers, a photographer and seventeen students. Photographs are by Tina Lenz. The English text has been corrected by Rob Bland. Any remaining flaws are mine.

The excavation campaign of 2000 has been financially supported by the University of Amsterdam and the Stichting Utopia.

² For the excavations behind the temples, see Stibbe 1981, 306; idem 1983, 52-53; Heldring 1984, 98; eadem 1987, 285-287. For the most recent results of these excavations, see Gnade 1997, 37-55. For the excavations in the Poggio dei Cavallari, Gnade 1997, 93-103; Gnade 2000 (in press). On the investigation of the city-wall, Gnade 1999, 31-50.

³ For an overview of the excavated remains in front of the temples and for their identification, see the excavations reports, Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987 and 1992.

⁴ In some places the foundations still show two rows of blocks with a medium height of 1.00 m., see Gnade 1997a, fig. 6.

⁵ As yet, no agreement has been reached on the date of the earliest stone buildings. See Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 23-25 suggesting a date of c. 590/580 for Temple 0 and for the simultaneously erected small stone buildings E, F, C, H, I and K. But see De Waele 1981, 47, suggesting a date of 650 for Temple 0. Idem 1997, 70-73.

⁶ On building AA, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 92, 123.

⁷ For a survey of the architecture and for proposed chronologies

Like the temples, the surrounding structures probably became increasingly monumental in style. They may also have been laid out to correspond with the orientations of the individual temples. Such a systematic lay-out would offer a useful starting point for a relative chronology of the numerous structures now known. Though in itself a plausible hypothesis, and one which finds support in the two orientations which apply to most buildings, there are some apparent exceptions.⁸ This has become particularly clear during recent excavations behind the temples, where some unmistakably older buildings have been uncovered which have the same orientation as the younger ones.

Another possible approach that may help in setting up a relative chronology for the acropolis buildings is to be found in the use of different kinds of tufa. It has been suggested that specific tufas might be linked to specific building periods. This suggestion is based on the almost exclusive use of white tufa blocks in the foundations of Temples 0 and I and their re-use in the predominantly red-brown foundations of Temple II. During the 2000 excavation this relative sequence of the two tufa types (i.e. yellowish-white or greyish-white tufa for the earlier buildings and red-brown tufa for the later ones) could indeed be established in a number of instances.⁹ These observations will be of great importance in the final elaboration of the excavations on the acropolis.

THE EXCAVATION

The north-east sector of the acropolis: area A (Figs. 2, 4)

At the north-east corner of the hill two long parallel sections (I and II) excavated in 1995 were reopened and extended on all sides (Figs. 1-2, 4).¹⁰ The area between the two sections was cut by trenches 2086/2075 to a width of c. 1 m. Two new trenches were opened west of section I (2095-2096) together with large parts of three adjacent trenches (2094/2105/2106).

Furthermore, two new long sections were opened: one parallel to section II on the east, 15 m. long and 1.50 m. wide (section III, trenches 2062-2064); the other parallel to section I, about 15 m. to the west, c. 10 m. long and 1.60 m. wide (section IV, trenches 2128/2118).

As a result of this work various foundation walls have come to light, all of which correspond in orientation with that of Temples 0 and I. The walls consist either of red-brown or white tufa blocks, the latter showing two or three different qualities.¹¹ The

walls belong to four different building phases, which are here presented in non-chronological order.

One phase is represented by walls of large white tufa blocks, more or less rectangular in shape and with an average thickness of about 0.20-0.30 m. The tufa type is similar to that used for Temple I. Four stretches of such wall have been excavated (walls f-i). Together with a stretch of wall discovered in 1995 (wall f, section I, trenches 2084/85) all seem to belong to the same building, so far comprising one large room (c. 11.00 x 7.50 m.). South of this building, in the extension of section I (trenches 2083/2084), another stretch of wall of this type has also come to light (wall j).

Evidence provided by section I shows that the white building had disturbed the remains of a building from an earlier period, represented by a still substantial floor of terra battuta. This floor had been cut through in order to erect wall f. Its red colour suggests that it must have been exposed to the heat of a great fire. The baked remains of the floor contained many small pebbles. In its turn, the battuta level covered an Iron Age stratum which contained a lot of impasto finds dating to the Orientalizing period or earlier. The second recognised phase consists of a long thin wall (wall a) which has been documented over a length of 10 m. (trenches 2095/2096) (Figs. 2, 5). It is laid in a N-S direction and is constructed of oblong white tufa blocks of a different size and a much finer quality than those of the walls described above. These blocks are c. 0.35 m. thick and their length varies between 1.00 and 1.60 m. At its northern end the wall disappears into the south side of trench 2097/2086; at its southern end (in trench 2095) it is connected to another long stretch of wall (wall c), which is oriented E-W. Though connected, wall c must be the earlier because its final western block is cut by wall a. Wall c is also different in character. It consists of white tufa blocks with remarkably smoothened surfaces and rounded edges on the northern side, where they are laid perfectly in line. The southern side, by contrast, is very irregularly cut, leaving each block a different size. Along this side of the wall, a short distance from it, a substantial strip of tufa chips was uncovered (Fig. 8). The

of the temples of the sanctuary see, most recently, De Waele 1997, 67-83.

⁸ See Gnade 1997a, 48, for earlier objections to too strict an application of this idea.

⁹ On the tufa types used in the temples, see Arnoldus-Huyzenveld in De Waele 1992, 59-61.

¹⁰ The western section (section I: squares 2084-2087) was extended in a southerly direction for about 5 m. (trenches 2083-84); the eastern section (section II: trenches 2074-2075) was likewise extended for about 5 m. (trench 2073) and was partly enlarged in a westerly direction (trenches 2084-2085).

¹¹ The various tufa qualities are presently under study.

chips may originate from the blocks of wall c, which appear to have been cut *in situ*.

Along the N-S wall (wall a), about 0.40-0.50 m. from its eastern side and about 2.80 m. apart, three small column bases were discovered (Fig. 5). The type of tufa used here is comparable to that in wall c. Each base has a surface diameter of 0.51 m. Only the northern base has remained intact (Fig. 7); the other two demonstrate clear traces of intentional destruction, probably dating back to ancient times. The upper part of the northern base is nicely worked and smoothened. At about 0.07-0.10 m. below its top, the diameter of the base broadens to about 0.60 m. The lower part, which must have originally been below floor level and thus invisible, has been left rough and shows the original chisel traces. The bottom of the bases had not yet been reached by the end of the campaign.

For the moment the column bases have been attributed to the building phase of the long N-S wall (wall a) along which they have been discovered, identifying this structure as a pseudo-porticus. The bases also interrupt another long wall (wall b) which appeared next to wall a at a slightly deeper level (Figs. 5-6). The northern part of this wall was covered by a compact layer of tufa chips, interpreted as chippings from when the blocks of wall a were shaped *in situ*, which suggests that wall a is the younger of the two.¹² Wall b gradually decreases in height towards the north where it disappears into the northeast corner of trench 2096. It is probably connected with an E-W wall, the junction presumably sited in trench 2086 (not opened). A short stretch of this presumed E-W wall was excavated in section I in 1995 (wall e).

At its southern end N-S wall b is connected with a long E-W wall (d) which runs diagonally west through trench 2106, parallel to the earlier mentioned E-W wall c at a distance of 1.00 m. (Fig. 8). Wall d appears to continue for nearly 7.00 m., underneath the present entrance to the acropolis. A small stretch has come to light in the newly opened section IV to the south (trenches 2117/2128). The blocks of wall d, just like those of the parallel wall c to the north, show a rounded edge on their northern side and are irregularly cut on the south. The individual blocks are likewise irregular in size. The tufa is yellowish-white in colour.

Another stretch of wall (k) consisting of the lower parts of some badly preserved red-brown tufa blocks, has been found south of the structure with columns and in line with it. Wall k has been documented for a length of 4.00 m., after which it disappears into the northern side of trench 2104. Because there is a clear difference in level between the red-brown wall k and the white structures - the bottom of the former lying more or less at the same level as the top

of the latter - it may be assumed that the red-brown wall is the younger.

This relative sequence of structures built in white and in red-brown tufa blocks is also encountered in other places, for example in the transverse section between sections I and II. Here was found part of a N-S oriented water channel consisting of two rectangular white tufa blocks (Fig. 9). It appeared to be connected with an E-W oriented channel of red-brown tufa blocks, discovered in 1995 in section II. The channel of white tufa blocks was clearly damaged, but it seems that part of it had been reused and adapted to a new channel with a different course. The space between the two channels was filled up with a red-brown tufa block cut into trapezoidal shape (Fig. 9). Obviously an original channel belonging to the white tufa building phase had been reused at a later period when red-brown tufa was the construction material. A comparable re-use and adaptation can be seen in area B of the excavation (see below).

Probably in direct relation to the water channel is a large rectangular slab placed on its side, which was discovered in section I (trench 2086). Unfortunately, this area had been significantly disturbed by an illegal excavation which seems to have taken place in 1999. One casualty is a large rectangular block, documented in 1995, which was found out of position and badly damaged. This particular block originally formed part of another N-S wall, discovered along the east side of section I (trench 2086) into which it disappears in a northerly direction after 1.00 m.

These various structures have been attributed to the Archaic period, with walls a-d for the moment considered the oldest on stratigraphical grounds. They are tentatively dated here to the first half of the sixth century BC, based on the Orientalizing finds discovered underneath the terra battuta floor, which probably belonged to one of the structures.

Furthermore, an early date can be inferred from the smallness of the column bases and the modest thickness of the associated wall a alongside them. The small scale brings to mind the remains of the first stone cult building, Temple 0 or the Sacellum. It should also be noted that tufa of a similar fine quality to that used in the various walls and column bases is sporadically encountered in the earliest temple buildings. The column bases of Temple I, for example, are standing on foundation blocks made of a fine pale-brown tufa.¹³ The column bases and the corner of

¹² The phenomenon of tufa chippings at the base of a wall has been recorded in a number of instances on the acropolis, but so far only in cases of red-brown tufa walls.

¹³ See De Waele 1981, 24-28, on the Sacellum; *ibidem*, 30, on the tufa blocks underneath the column bases of Temple I, see pl. 13.1. See also Stibbe in *Lapis Satricanus* 1980, 27.

walls a and c were found covered by a thick stratum of (exclusively) red-archaic roof-tile fragments. These were found standing upright against wall a, suggesting that they could be attributed to the collapsed roof of the building. Further study of the stratigraphy and of the few ceramic finds among the tiles will hopefully provide enough data to establish a more secure relative chronology for the individual buildings.

The north-east sector: area B (Figs. 2, 4)

In order to complete the plans of the buildings and structures discovered in 1995, the research area in the northern part of the acropolis was extended in an easterly (trenches 2034-2037) and a northerly direction (trenches 2037, 2048, 2059, 2070). The excavation of the eastern trenches brought to light the foundations of three or four adjacent rooms constructed in large irregular blocks of white tufa. The rooms are part of a long building (at least 20 m.) of which two rooms had already been documented during the 1995 excavations (structure E). The north side of this building is probably lying in trench 2038, which was not opened. The building bears a strong resemblance to the so-called Stoa A' excavated in front of the temples.¹⁴

Exploration of area B also revealed that the construction phase which used irregular white tufa blocks preceded that which used regular red-brown tufa blocks. In some places the white tufa walls were destroyed or literally cut through by the red-brown tufa walls. This is evident in the north-eastern trench (trench 2037), where we encountered the corner of a red-brown building (a) of which the south wall apparently transected the east wall of white tufa building E (given the destruction of this wall at the point of intersection). In other places, notably the long east wall of white tufa building (E), some of the white blocks displayed clear indentations indicating a foundation trench dug to receive a new, overlaying wall. In some places remains of the red-brown tufa blocks of this wall were still present, while along the whole line of the presumed wall a wide strip of red-brown tufa particles was clearly visible, diagonally intersecting the earlier white wall. For the moment it seems that the remains of this red-brown wall can be attributed to a building of which the south-west corner, formed by two long walls (4.50 m. and 5.00 m. respectively) was discovered in 1995 (building D).¹⁵ Very few remains have come to light in the trenches opened to complete the plan of a third building, also discovered in 1995 (building C).

The building consists of a long E-W foundation wall (about 8.00 m.) made of many small white tufa lumps. Its height is 0.40 m. The wall ends in a large and nearly circular concentration of stones and tufa

blocks of various types and sizes. Square to it, and running north in a straight line, there are two large circular structures with diameters of 2.00 m., spaced at intervals of about 3.50 m. Each of these is composed of three rectangular red-brown tufa blocks placed in the centre of a large circular hole. The remaining space in the hole appeared to have been filled in with the same white tufa lumps as those recorded in the E-W wall.¹⁶ A third circular structure, confidently predicted for trench 2059/2048, was not found, probably due to recent levelling.

On the other hand, the continuation of a water channel of which thirteen rectangular blocks with longitudinal groove were discovered in 1995, was found in two directions (*Fig. 10*).¹⁷ To the west two new blocks were discovered, one of which was a rectangular tufa block laid as a header to close off the channel. This was unexpected at this particular location. To the east seven new blocks came to light. It is to be noted that this part of the channel, though intersecting the eastern wall of building E, seems to form an integral part of the building. Another remarkable observation, is the fact that the channel appears to date from two different building phases - the eastern part being constructed with white tufa blocks, the western part with red-brown tufa blocks. The meeting point between the two stretches exhibits quite a sharp kink in the otherwise curving course of the channel. This situation clearly resembles the one documented in zone A. The water channel must have originally stemmed from the white tufa building phase, but was obviously reused and restored in the subsequent red-brown tufa phase.

In order to investigate the inclination of the ancient ground, a N-S strip of four new trenches was opened along the edge of the hill (trenches 2022-2025). Square to it a section was opened in an easterly direction following the slope of the hill (trenches 2024/2044).

In trench 2025 a three further white blocks of the water channel were found running east along the hill.

The easterly section revealed a concentration of irregular tufa blocks of various type and colour

¹⁴ For this building see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 87-89. The size of the building is 28.80 x 7.00 m. It is entirely constructed of irregular white tufa blocks. Based on the pottery found below the foundations a date in the early sixth century BC would be feasible, but the excavators lower this date towards the end of the sixth century on account of the proportions of the building and its alignment with Temple II, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 89. See also *CatFicana* 1980, 79-80, fig. 8, pl. XIV b for a similar building dated to the first half of the sixth century BC; also Fisher-Hansen 1990, 107.

¹⁵ See Gnade 1997a, 45 and fig. 7, for the first presentation of this building.

¹⁶ See Gnade 1997a, 45, figs. 7-8.

¹⁷ On this channel, Gnade 1997a, 47.

along the edge of the hill. Among them many large fragments of impasto pottery were encountered, all dating to the early Orientalizing period and as such perhaps offering a useful hint for the date of the tufa concentration. However, the chronological use of the ceramics depends entirely on the identification of the remains. For the moment two options present themselves. The first is that the tufa concentration should be regarded as the remains of Iron Age hill defences.¹⁸ Supporting evidence is here provided by the find of a lead object (presumably a sling-bullet) among the tufa. In this case a date for the construction of the defences can legitimately be set in or shortly after the early Orientalizing period, the period in which the pottery was current. On the other hand, it is also imaginable that the tufa concentration may have been intended to reinforce the edge of the acropolis to prevent erosion and to provide a stable foundation for the white tufa buildings (see below, trial section 2). In this case its deposition should be connected with the general redesign of the acropolis at the moment when the earliest stone buildings were laid out. The ceramics would then have to be regarded as the remains of demolished huts, directly linked to a general clearing of the hill. The date for deposition of the tufa border would then have to be set in the late Orientalizing or early Archaic period.

The north-east sector: area C (Fig. 2)

A third area of excavation was opened south of area B and east of the area excavated in the years 1992/1995 (area C: trenches 2033/2044/2055; 66-69). Exploration of this area revealed the foundations of a large building (F; c. 20.00 x 4.00 m.) consisting of three adjacent rooms constructed of large rectangular red-brown tufa blocks. Unfortunately, the foundations of the southern room in trench 66 and a large part of the eastern foundations appeared almost completely destroyed. Though not fully excavated (only the upper part of the tufa blocks was brought into view), the building seems identical to that which was excavated in 1992/1995, 15 m. to the west (B, trenches 39-41 and 2099).¹⁹ Like this building, the new structure demonstrates a well-thought-over use of blocks in the individual walls: headers are predominantly used for the exterior walls and stretchers for the internal wall. Special attention has also been paid to the construction of the corners of the building and to the connections between the internal and external walls. Like the earlier excavated building to the west, this building is lying in line with Temple II. Slightly to the north of the new building a long foundation wall (8.00 m.) was discovered, again consisting of large rectangular red-brown tufa blocks but this time with a different orientation (i.e.

in line with that of Temple I). The excavation of the wall revealed only one row of red-brown tufa blocks, which was placed on top of another slightly wider foundation of small white tufa lumps. This kind of construction is, as we have seen, also encountered in the foundation wall of building C, c. 4.00 m. to the north. There, however, the red-brown tufa blocks were absent. Possibly the newly discovered wall was part of the same building, perhaps its southern wall preserved to a higher level.

The last piece of research in this particular area was carried out in trenches 74/81 on the eastern slope of the hill, where a remarkable concentration of large irregular blocks of different types of tufa had already been found in 1995 (see note 18). The section of 1995 was extended to the north for about 3.00 m. It appears that the concentration of tufa blocks continues in a northerly direction in line with the tufa border brought to light earlier on the slope of the hill to the north (see above). Presumably all formed part of the same construction along the edge of the hill.

The southern part of the acropolis: areas D, E and F (Figs. 1-3)

In order to establish the likely presence of other ancient remains in areas of the acropolis which remain unexplored, we have extended our research of the hill in a southerly direction.

Six long trial trenches, each 1.60 m. wide, were made with a bulldozer. Five of these were in an E-W direction, parallel to each other along the eastern edge of the hill (1-6). The sixth ran N-S, directly in line with the eastern foundation wall of Temple II for a distance of c. 40.00 m. Both this trench and the southernmost trench of the group of five (no. 5) revealed sandy virgin soil immediately below the surface layer, suggesting that the ancient strata in these areas have been levelled in recent times. On the other hand, the exploration of sections 1-4 revealed various ancient remains.

In the first section, comprising the north part of the excavation trenches 1254, 1286 e 1318, a wall of large rectangular blocks was found in trenches 1286/1318 (area D). Unlike similar structures discovered in the north-east sector of the acropolis in excavation areas A-B (see above), the white wall in section 1 is aligned with Temple II. The preserved stretch mea-

¹⁸ See Gnade 1997a, 44-45 in relation to the discovery of identical remains c. 28.00 m. to the south; see also below. See Pinza 1905, 515, fig. 159, for a similar phenomenon in the Faliscan area; also Ficana (Monte Cugno), *QuadAEL* 1, 1978, 36, tav. XIII,2; *CatFicana* 1980, 60-65, fig. 5, pl. VII a-b; Castel di Decima, *QuadIstTop* 9, 1981, 118-123, figs. 4-6, 8, 23.

¹⁹ See Gnade 1997a, 42-44, figs. 3-6.

sures 5.00 m. in length and constitutes the southern wall of a large rectangular room (see below).

In the eastern part of the same section, at a depth of 0.70/0.90 m., we encountered the possible remains of Iron Age occupation of the acropolis. Here the remains consisted of two separate levels of pebbles. The higher level, recorded in trench 1254, appeared to be limited by a series of three small oblong tufa blocks laid length-wise in a curving line. These remains can presumably be attributed to a hut. Identical remains were found in 1995 (in trench 46) beneath the walls of the large building constructed of red-brown tufa blocks (building B, Fig. 2).²⁰

After the excavation of the white wall (which appeared to consist of at least two rows of large rectangular blocks of irregular size) the excavation area was extended in a northerly direction (2.00 x 3.00 m. of trench 1255, the whole trench 1287 and 3.00 m. of the eastern part of trench 1319). The intention was to bring the complete plan of the room to light and to find more remains of the hut.

In the event, only the western wall of the room, measuring 4.00 m., was completely uncovered, plus the north-east corner and part (1.60 m.) of the northern wall. The estimated size of the room is c. 6.00 x 5.00 m.

It appeared that the white structure had been partially destroyed, probably due to the building of another structure on top of it. Of this second structure one large red-brown tufa block showing a length-wise groove was still lying in its original position, in place of the original east wall of the white room. The room probably formed part of a larger building. This may be deduced from a series of white tufa blocks found during the excavations of 1980-1982 in the southernmost excavation trench at that time (trench 35). These blocks are lying in line with the western wall of the white room.

Two more oblong tufa blocks from the hut confinement were recorded.

The second section (2), dug 8.00 m. south of section 1 for a distance of 30.00 m. (along the southern ends of trenches 1124/1156/1188/1220/1252/1284), revealed various ancient remains, especially at the east end of the section at the eastern edge of the hill (area E). Here the section was extended to the north (2.00 m.) and to the south (4.00 m.), revealing the poorly preserved remains of four white tufa blocks still lying *in situ*. These had been badly damaged by the roots of the many trees that today cover the slopes of the acropolis. The blocks are part of an original rectangular structure. They seem identical to those discovered in the first section, except for their orientation which again is aligned with Temple 1. Of interest is a concentration of large irregular tufa blocks lying underneath the white structure. These blocks resem-

ble those mentioned earlier in relation to the edge of the acropolis. Their presence here would appear to support the hypothesis that the edge of the acropolis was reinforced both to prevent the erosion of the terrain and to provide a firm base for the construction of large buildings (although this need not be incompatible with the idea of Iron Age defences). The third section (3) was dug c. 52.00 m. south of section 2 and extended for a distance of 27.50 m. along the northern ends of trenches 1305/1337/1369/1401/1427/1453. In the western part of the section, in trench 1453, a collapse of white and pink roof-tiles was discovered immediately below the surface, at a depth of 0.20 m. This collapse continued in the area south of this section (see below).

In trench 1369 various tufa blocks were discovered: three irregular large blocks of a pinkish tufa were found in the eastern part of the section at a depth of c. 0.40, and two other rectangular blocks of yellow-white tufa at a level 0.25 m. deeper along the east limit of the trench. The blocks are lying in a N-S direction, possibly forming a wall. For the moment, however, they cannot be attributed to any specific structure.

The fourth section (4) was dug along the southern ends of trenches 1367/1399/1425/1451 for a distance of c. 17.00 m. The section was extended in southerly direction (trenches 1398/1424) after the discovery of the corner of a building immediately below the surface. The foundations of this building consist of two different kinds of wall: an E-W wall built of rectangular red-brown tufa blocks (0.75 x 0.50) and a N-S wall of irregular blocks (0.20 x 0.25) of various types of tufa. The continuation of the mixed N-S wall was encountered in trench 1424, from where it could be followed for another 3.80 m. in a southerly direction. From this point it appeared to have been destroyed. The wall of red-brown tufa blocks could be followed for about 6.00 m. in an easterly direction. The final 0.80 m. of its eastern end is quite badly damaged. At this point it is connected to another stretch of wall with a N-S orientation. This was brought to light for a length of c. 7.60 m. when the area between sections 3 and 4 was opened. This new wall runs down the slope of the hill to the north. It consists of predominantly rectangular red-brown tufa blocks of differing sizes. The most northern block is quadrangular in shape (0.55 x 0.55 m.) and exhibits a slightly concave surface.

The area between sections 3 and 4 (area F) comprises c. 220 m² and contains numerous tile-collapses. All seem to be lying *in situ*, presumable along walls which can be attributed to the building documented

²⁰ Gnade 1997a, fig. 3.

in section 4. Unfortunately, only a few blocks of the walls have been preserved but a strip-like trace of tufa particles probably indicates the original course of the walls. The roof-tiles are either white, pink or orange and show two different fabrics. The majority are of a highly-tempered clay with a lot of augite particles, resembling the so-called Late-Archaic tiles attributed to Temple II. The clay of the other tiles is much more powdery with less particles.

Among and beneath the roof-tiles and spread out over the southern part of the area, many fragments of third- and second-centuries Hellenistic black-glazed pottery were found. Many fragments belong to plates and bowls, some of which can be attributed to the workshop producing the *petites estampilles*, others to Campana A ware. A notable piece is the lower part of a large plate decorated on the inside with four large radially placed palmette-stamps with double encircling rouletting inside an encircling incised line. Due to its size, type of decoration and shape of foot, this plate can be considered a late piece in the production of stamped ware, probably dating to the late third or even the second century BC.²¹ Other plates are characterised by a wide horizontal offset rim. Parallels are known from Cosa, where the type appears from the last quarter of the second century.²² A first analysis of the fabrics of the black-glazed finds revealed wide variation.

Among the ceramics are various fragments of Greek-Italian amphorae and fragments of three lamps (one of them nearly complete) of the so-called doughnut and Esquiline types, datable to the third or second centuries BC.²³ There are also some coarse ware rims which resemble the second-century black-glazed examples.

Apart from the black-glazed Hellenistic pottery, two bronze coins were found among the tile-collapses. These coins originate from Campania (Cales?) and can be dated to the second half of the third century BC, more precisely after 268 BC.²⁴ The coins corroborate the date provided by the black-glazed pottery. This evidence suggests that the construction of the building should be set somewhere in the second half of the third century. The long time-span covered by the material, plus the great variety in the black-glazed fabrics, indicates that the building was in use for quite a long time, at least until the late second century BC.

In the western part of the area, probably identifiable as the inner courtyard of the building, large parts of the original pavement have been preserved (*Fig. 11*). It is made of small fragments of white and pink roof-tiles cut to size and placed on edge alternately in the earth. The fabric of the fragments is identical to that of the roof-tiles found along the walls. The pavement may be identified as an irregular (or early)

opus spicatum floor. A direct parallel is known from the Danish excavations of a Hellenistic house in Pontecagnano. A similar pavement is recorded at Ficana.²⁵

Of great interest in the same area is the discovery of an intact jar (*dolium*) along the western edge of trench 1452 (*Fig. 11*). The jar, which had been entirely buried in the ground, appeared to be filled with large fragments of roof-tiles of the fabric described. On the bottom, underneath the fill of tiles, were several pieces of burned wood which have been analysed as oak.²⁶ The jar was taken out in 122 fragments. It has a broad, flat rim. Apart from an almost faded cord decoration where the rim meets the shoulder, it showed no special characteristics. Its fabric is of pinkish compact clay with many large inclusions, such as grog and small stones. The exterior surface of the wall is covered by a lot of augite particles.²⁷

Underneath one of the large roof-tile concentrations in trench 1399 (in this case the tile-collapse comprised complete or nearly complete specimens) and at slightly deeper level than in other cases, a remarkable concentration of large pottery fragments datable to the fifth century BC was discovered. Among these were ten fitting fragments of a very large black-glazed skyphos with red bottom showing two black painted circles with central dot (*Figs. 12-13*). Many of these fragments show ancient repair holes, from which it can be assumed that the piece was valuable. The

²¹ Description: inv.no. 1427/4/1; low everted ringfoot; decoration of four radially placed palmette-stamps with encircling double rouletting inside an encircling incised line; red, depurated clay (2.5YR 6/6 light red); diam. foot 9.6 cm; max.pres. size 17.0 cm. For the shape, Morel 1981, series 2234; cf. also Bernardini 1981, no. 551, tav. XLII. No parallels are known for the palmette-stamps, which are remarkably large.

²² Cf. Taylor 1957, 143-145, D 1a.

²³ See Cosa 1994.

²⁴ I owe this information to Dr. J.P.A. van der Vin of the Rijksmuseum Het Koninklijk Penningkabinet in Leiden. Description: inv. no. 1427/4/1; bronze coin, very worn; obv. head (Apollo?) laureate, to the left, rev. unrecognizable; provenance Campania (Cales, Compulteria or Neapolis); issued after 268 BC.; inv. no. 1452/100/1; bronze coin, very worn; obv. Apollo laureate, to the left; rev. man-headed bull, to the right; in exergue, Caleno; uncertain symbol above bull; litrae(?), provenance Campania (Cales); issued after 268 BC; cf. *Sylloge Copenhagen* 309-321.

²⁵ Ström 1993, 120, fig. 15.

²⁶ Ten pieces of wood have been analysed by BIAX Consult, Amsterdam. The wood appeared to consist of large sections of branch and pieces of trunk with side branches, knots and bark. It is therefore unlikely that this wood was used for construction.

²⁷ Inv.no. 1452/1/1; 122 fitting fragments; wide flat rim with oblique lower profile towards shoulder showing vague traces of an original cord-decoration (a thickened band with almond-shaped stick-imprints), ovoidal body, flat bottom. H. 85 cm; w. rim 12 cm; diam. rim 62 cm (int.), 86 cm (ext.); diam. base 48 cm; th. wall 3 cm; pink coarse clay (5YR 7/4) to reddish yellow in core (7.5YR 7/6) with many large inclusions.

skyphos can be dated to the third quarter of the fifth century BC.²⁸ Other pieces are a fragment of the ring foot of an Attic kylix (480-450), half a black-glazed one-handler, large fragments of a large cup-skyphos, a miniature cup, a loom-weight, an almost complete Etruscan amphora and many large fragments of various types of jars. One of these has a boss, a type of decoration known from Satricum's fifth-century Southwest Necropolis;²⁹ another has a cord decoration.

The significance of the presence of this fifth century pottery concentration in a third-second century context is not yet entirely clear. Given its size and the evidence of repair, the skyphos must have had a certain value. It is therefore imaginable that the piece was part of some kind of 'treasure', which may have been protected by a small roof. One may also think of a funerary context. The associated vases seem to underline the unusual character of the find. It is also worth noting that the roof-tiles covering the pottery concentration, though lying at a slightly deeper level, seem to belong to the same type that was discovered in the rest of the area.

On the other hand, the finds may indicate the presence of a fifth-century stratum immediately below the third-century building. Evidence for this was found in the adjacent section 4, where a first analysis of the finds and stratigraphy indeed revealed the presence of a layer containing fifth-century pottery. This layer appeared to be cut through by the N-S wall encountered in trench 1424 (mentioned above), which has been assigned to the structure unearthed in the area between sections 3 and 4.

CONCLUSION

The excavations behind the temples have yielded much new information regarding the building history of the acropolis, which in some respects modifies earlier ideas. The plan of two buildings already discovered in 1995 (building E and F) could now be more or less completed, while several new buildings were discovered. One of these, the one situated in the north-east corner of the hill comprising walls a-d, appeared to be different from the buildings hitherto known. Its foundations were of another type of tufa, while its dimensions and plan have no direct parallels on the acropolis. Unfortunately the building could only be partially excavated, making any interpretation of its original plan and function far too speculative at the moment.

Another possible source for establishing the relative sequence of buildings and walls has been the tufa itself. A striking consistency in the use of particular kinds of tufa during specific construction phases has

so far been observed. This consistency appears to correspond remarkably closely with the sequence of tufa used in the successive temple phases. In all cases where we uncovered structures built on top of each other, the white Archaic structures preceded the red-brown structures. As such they may be tentatively attributed to building phases preceding that of Temple II. It should be noted however that this pattern does not apparently agree with the situation in front of the temples, where the reverse sequence has been recorded. Courtyard buildings A and B, situated in front of the temples and assigned to the building phase of Temple I, are both constructed of red-brown tufa blocks.³⁰ The rebuilding of building A after its destruction, as well as additions to building B, were executed in white tufa blocks.

The 2000 excavations have also opened up a new phase in the occupation history of ancient Satricum. So far no signs of habitation and no building activity later than the early fifth century have been encountered on the acropolis. This has led to some rather extravagant ideas and conclusions regarding the later history of the town, which have reduced it to a mere place of pilgrimage from the early fifth century onwards. In reaction to this view, it has been suggested that the Archaic buildings remained inhabited in succeeding periods, possibly having been restored.³¹ The absence of remains linked to post-Archaic habitation would then be easily explained

²⁸ Cf. similar pots from Athene, Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 84-85, pl. 16, no. 342; Talcott 1936, 340, fig. 8 (P 5145); Corbett 1949, fig. 2, no. 28 (with a different foot); for the shape see also Taranto, *CatTaranto* 1992, 131, nos. 49.22; 52.13-14; Metapontum, Adamesteanou 1973, 447, tav. LXXXV (with red-figured decoration). The fragments were removed, together with several other pottery fragments and the top layer of roof-tiles, on the last day of the excavations. It is therefore very likely that the missing fragments of the skyphos are still lying in situ. Description: inv.no. 1400/3/1+2; 10 fitting fragments of a large black-glazed skyphos (restored); torus-ringfoot; body with double curve; tapering rim, rounded top; slightly elevated horizontal horse-shoe-shaped handle, round in section, attached to rim. Pink depurated clay (5YR 7/6), grey core (5YR 7/1). Diluted, dull brownish black glaze, on outside extra thickly applied (7.5YR 3/2 tending to 5YR 3/1); fingertip marks near base; bottom of base-ring preserved; floor with red gloss (10YR 6/8) with two black painted circles and a central dot; H. 14.2; diam. rim 19.3 cm; diam. foot 12; th. wall 0.4-0.8; th. bottom 0.3. Fragments showing ancient repair holes (9).

²⁹ See Steures in Gnade 1992, 62-63, figs. IX-XI.

³⁰ For courtyard buildings A and B, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, 95-101, where the first phase in red-brown tufa is dated to the first half of the sixth century and the rebuilding and additions in white tufa to between 550/30-510/490. Also Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 52, for Stoa B' built in white tufa blocks, dated 520 BC and built on top and as a replacement of the original wing of courtyard building B; *ibidem*, 87-88, for Stoa A', built in the last decades of the sixth century BC on top of the red-brown tufa blocks of courtyard building A.

³¹ Gnade 2000, 70.

by the fact that the hill has been stripped of its original top stratum, destroying the floor levels belonging to the Archaic structures and, obviously, those of any later habitation. The discovery of the remains in the south part of the hill (area E) has added force to this theory. Because the area is situated at a higher level than the rest of the acropolis, it has preserved part of the hill's original top level.

So far we have only unearthed the remains in the upper layers, which revealed a third/second century structure built on top of a probable fifth-century stratum. Further research will reveal if the post-Archaic remains do indeed cover the earlier, Archaic levels of occupation recorded for the rest of the acropolis. For the time being, however, we can view the remains as likely confirmation of the continuity of the Satricum settlement. So far this had only been recorded in the lower settlement, i.e. in the top-layers covering the Late-Archaic road in the Poggio dei Cavallari and in the area of the sixth-century rampart.³²

AMSTERDAM ARCHAEOLOGICAL CENTRE
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM
NIEUWE PRINSENGRACHT 130
NL-1018 VZ AMSTERDAM
THE NETHERLANDS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamesteanou, D. 1973, *Metaponto: Atti del tredicesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto 1973, Napoli.
- Bernardini, P. 1986, *La ceramica a vernice nera dal Tevere* (Museo nazionale romano: le ceramiche V,1), Rome.
- CatArea Sacra 1985, P. Chiarucci, T. Gizzi (eds.), *L'area sacra di Satricum. Tra scavo e restituzione* (Exh. cat. Albano 1985), Albano.
- CatFicana 1980, *Ficana. Una pietra miliare sulla strada per Roma* (Exh. Cat. Rome 1975-1980), Rome-København.
- CatSatricum 1985, *Nieuw licht op een oude stad. Italiaanse en Nederlandse opgravingen in Satricum* (Exh. cat. Leiden). The Hague.
- CatTaranto 1992, Andreassi, G. (ed.), *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto*, Taranto.
- CatTarquini 1990, *La grande Roma dei Tarquini* (Exh. cat. Rome), Rome.
- Corbett, P.E. 1949, Pottery of the Mid-Fifth Century from a Well in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 18, 298-351.
- Cosa 1994, C. Rickman Fitch, N. Wynick Goldman, *Cosa: the Lamps*, MAAR 39, Rome.
- De Waele, J.A.K.E. 1981, I templi della Mater Matuta a Satricum, *MededRom* 53, 5-68.
- De Waele, J.A.K.E. 1997, Cronologia ed architettura dei templi della Mater Matuta di Satricum, *MededRom* 56, 69-83.
- Fischer Hansen 1990 (ed.), *Scavi di Ficana*, I. *Topografia generale*, Rome.
- Gnade, M. 1992, *The Southwest Necropolis of Satricum, Excavations 1981-1986*, Amsterdam.
- Gnade, M. 1997a, Le ricerche olandesi a Satricum dal 1977 ad oggi, *MededRom* 56, 37-55.
- Gnade, M. 1997b, Satricum. Preliminary report of the 1996 excavation by the University of Amsterdam, *BABesch* 72, 93-103.
- Gnade, M. 1999, La ricerca sull'aggregato di Satricum, *Terra dei Volsci* 2, 31-50.
- Gnade, M. 2000 (in press), *Satricum in the Post-Archaic Period. A Case Study of the interpretation of Archaeological Remains as Indicators of Ethno-Cultural Identity*, PhD Thesis University of Amsterdam.
- Heldring, B.H. 1984, La sesta e la settima campagna di scavo dell'Istituto olandese di Roma a Satricum, *QuadAEI* 8, 98-103.
- Heldring, B.H. 1987, La nona campagna di scavo dell'Istituto olandese di Roma a Satricum, *QuadAEI* 14, 285-291.
- Lapis Satricanus* 1980, C.M. Stibbe e.a., *Lapis Satricanus, Archaeological, Epigraphical and Historical Aspects of the New Inscription from Satricum*, 's Gravenhage.
- Maaskant-Kleibrink, M. 1987, *Settlement excavations at Borgo Le Ferriere <Satricum>*, I. *The Campaigns 1979, 1980, 1981*, Groningen.
- Maaskant-Kleibrink, M. 1992, *Settlement excavations at Borgo Le Ferriere <Satricum>*, II. *The Campaigns 1983, 1985 and 1987*, Groningen.
- Morel, J.-P. 1981, *Céramique campanienne: Les formes*, Rome.
- Pinza, G. 1905, Monumenti primitivi di Roma e del Lazio antico, *MonAnt* 15.
- Sparkes, B.A., L. Talcott 1970, *The Athenian Agora*, XII. *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries BC*, New Jersey.
- Stibbe, C.M. 1981, Nuovi e vecchi dati su Satricum, *QuadAEI* 5, 305-309.
- Stibbe, C.M. 1983, La quinta campagna di scavo dell'Istituto olandese di Roma a Satricum, *QuadAEI* 7, 48-53.
- Strøm, I. 1993, Pontecagnano-Picentia, A Hellenistic Town in the Former Etruscan Campania. The Danish Excavations, in *Acta Hyperborea* 5, 107-126.
- Talcott L. 1936, Vases and Kalos-Names from an Agora Well, *Hesperia* 4, 333-354.
- Taylor, D.M. 1957, Cosa: Black-glaze Pottery, *MemAmAc* 25, 68-193.

³² See Gnade 1999, 31-50 for the research conducted in the area of the alleged rampart. In one of the trenches a sealed stratum datable to the third and second centuries was discovered; Gnade 2000, 62-64, for the top stratum in the Poggio dei Cavallari.



Fig. 1. Map of the Satricum acropolis (Borgo Le Ferriere) with the excavation trenches of 2000 indicated in black; hatched trenches were also opened in 1995.

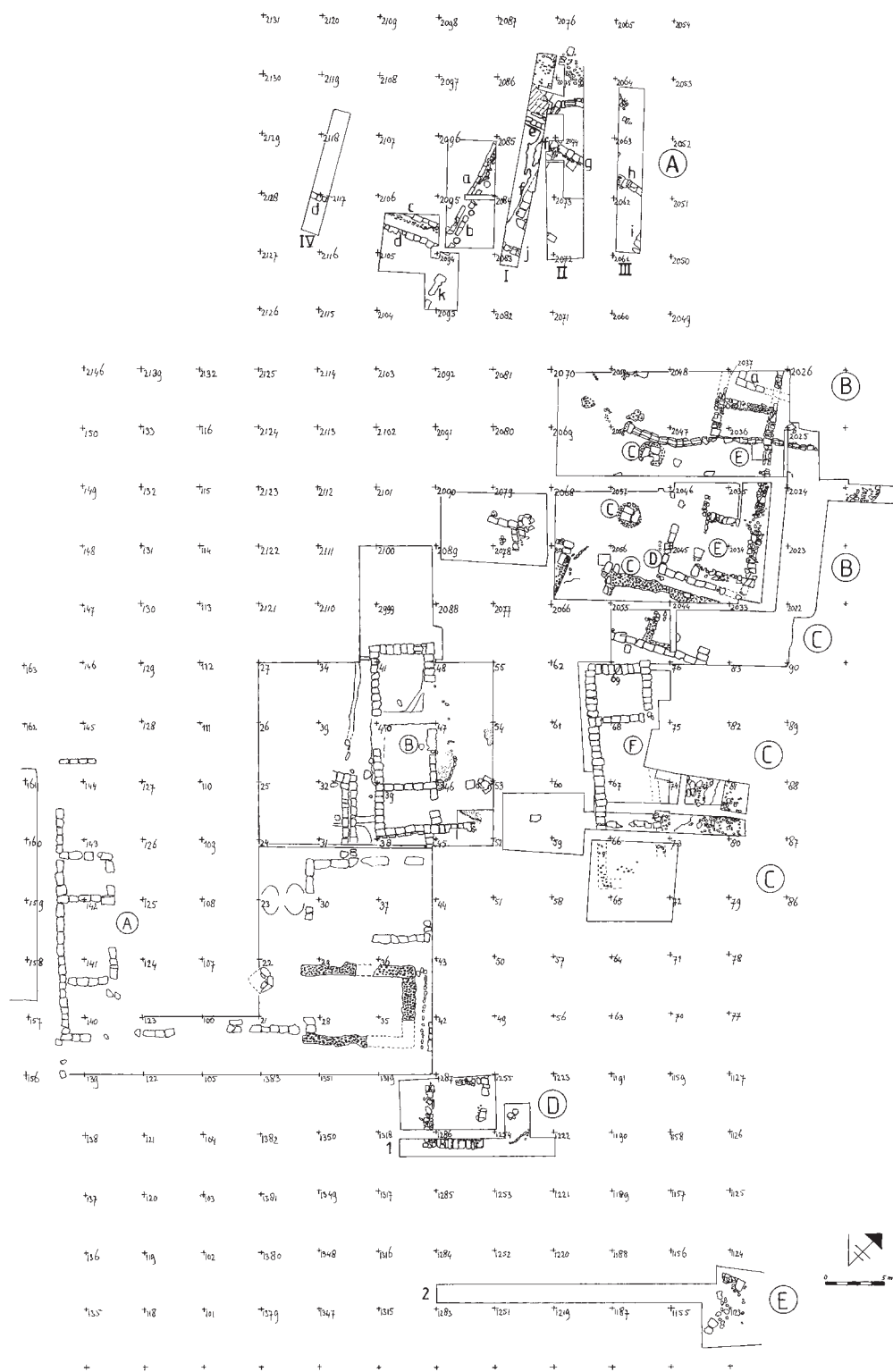


Fig. 2. Ground-plan of the walls brought to light in the north-east sector of the acropolis since the start of the Dutch excavations in 1977.



Fig. 4. Aerial photograph of the north-east sector of the acropolis showing the tufa foundations uncovered during the 2000 excavations.



Fig. 6. Detail of walls a and b in trench 2096 showing the northern column base interrupting wall b; wall b is partly covered by a compact layer of tufa particles interpreted as chippings from when the blocks of wall a were shaped in situ.



Fig. 7. Front of northern column base seen from the north.



Fig. 5. Overview of trenches 2095-2096 showing the remains of walls a and b, the latter interrupted by three column bases.



Fig. 8. Walls c and d in trench 2106 from the west.



Fig. 9. The water channel showing the two different building phases, in white and red-brown tufa, adapted to each other.



Fig. 10. The water channel showing a white phase (foreground) and a red-brown phase (background); here it runs for about 20.00 m, intersecting building E in area B.



Fig. 11. Overview of the third-century building in the south-east sector of the acropolis; the partly excavated jar is visible in the foreground (from the west).



Fig. 12. The fifth-century skyphos found during the excavation of the third-century building.



Fig. 13. Bottom of the fifth-century skyphos.

The Search for Sybaris: an Evaluation of Historical and Archaeological Evidence

Marianne Kleibrink

'Many times during these past years of searching for concrete evidence of Sybaris I have felt that the famed city was a myth' (Fro. Rainey, in Rainey/Lerici 1967, XIX)

The ancients contrasted normal life sharply with that at Sybaris. Many ancient tales of excess do not just describe the luxuries in the streets and houses of this Greek colony in Southern Italy, but focus on the wickedness and spoiled ways of its inhabitants (Ampolo 1993). The story of the complete disappearance of Sybaris in the floods of the river Krathis in 510 BC after its southern rival colony, Kroton, had destroyed it (Strabo VI.1.13), seems at first sight no less fabulous than these tales. A 'Sodom and Gomorrah' ending is a good way to enhance such stories with a sense of impending doom. However, the meagre results of the many searches for the famed city of Sybaris have reminded even the most tenacious of archaeologists of divinely sent ill fate (witness the citation above).

This paper is once again concerned with the contrast between the ancient texts and the archaeological evidence regarding Sybaris and the Achaian colonisation of the coastal plains along the Ionian Sea.

1 SHORT HISTORY OF THE SEARCH FOR SYBARIS

Modern archaeological research in the plain of Sybaris is clearly the legacy of François Lenormant's *La Grande Grèce. Paysage et histoire* I-III (Paris 1881-1884). Lenormant, a learned traveller and author, tried as much to encourage the French government to search for Sybaris as to excite the European elite into travel to Calabria. After all, brigands no longer were a problem after unification, and the new railway, running straight through the previously impenetrable coastal marshes, now halted at Buffaloria. This station was situated conveniently near the confluence of the rivers Crati and Coscile, where the site of Sybaris was thought to be.

Lenormant's travelogue is a mix of a report on his own visit to the area in 1880, a reworking of the various information found with ancient writers, and quite a number of fanciful conclusions: '*description des lieux et de l'aspect du pays, histoire, mythologie, archéologie monumentale, topographie et géographie, il y a*

peu de tout pêle-mêle dans ce livre' (Lenormant 1881, iv). Because the ancient sources on the location of Sybaris are meagre, and only report that Sybaris was located between the river Sybaris in the north and the river Krathis in the south (Diodoros XI 90. 3; XII. 9. 2; Strabo VI. 1. 13; Pliny III. 10. 97; XVI. 33. 81),¹ Lenormant's book caused excitement as well as confusion. Excitement because he stated that the discovery and excavation of Sybaris would certainly surpass that of Pompeii, since it would give Europe a Greek town of extreme riches; moreover, a town dating to the most exciting Archaic period in Magna Graecia. Even the well-known temples from this period at Paestum were, after all, only constructed by a town dependent on Sybaris. The metropolis itself would certainly render buildings far grander, in size as well as in sculptural splendour. His admiration for the splendid Sybarite silver coins, the beautiful stateres with a bull with turning head, caused Lenormant to write that silver mines had been extant in the Crati and Trionto valleys, even though there is no evidence for this supposition. At times, the excitement expressed by Lenormant still dominates the discussions on Sybaris, although not many treasures have ever come to light.

Lenormant's identification of the archaeological site of Sybaris on the higher grounds south-west of the confluence of the Crati and Coscile rivers have confused subsequent searchers for a long time. He identified the Le Muraglie plateau (*Fig. 1*) as the site of Thurioi-Copiai (Copiai is considered to be the Roman successor to Thurioi, which in its turn is considered successor to Sybaris). Here he noted an area of 2.5 km² full of remains in *opus reticulatum*, while the nearby area of la Caccia di Favella della Corte (*Fig. 1*) could only have been one huge

¹ According to Strabo (VI.1.13) the names of the rivers derive respectively from a spring near Bura and a river near Agai, both in Achaia. Nowadays, the river Coscile (formerly Sybaris) abuts into the Crati to the west of the ancient colony; in ancient times the rivers - of which the Crati has wandered circa 3 km to the north - flowed separately into the Ionian Sea. In 1525 Leandro Alberti describes the 'Cochili' as flowing into the Gulf 'non però molto discosto dalla foce del Grati' (Cotecchia 1993, 22). On maps of the 18th century the rivers still are separate (e.g. Zannoni map, Venice 1783 and others (fig. 2).



Fig. 1. Map of the Sibaritide.



Fig. 2. Old maps of the Sibaritide.

necropolis with its tufa sarcophagi lying about in disorder together with 'decadent' red-figure vases (Fig. 1; cf. Osanna 1992, 155). A group of artificial mounds running east from the Torre del Fico were thought to belong to this necropolis too and to contain the richer graves. Sybaris itself he thought lay in the Pattursi zone, a low area bordered by the promontory of Pollinara in the north and the plateau of the

Fonte del Fico in the south (Fig. 1). Lenormant projected Sybaris at this location because he firmly believed that it was here that Kroton's victorious soldiers led the Krathis away from its bed to flood the town. In his eyes, the ancient town could be quite easily found west of the place where the Crati leaves her ancient bed, which is between Pollinara and Fonte del Fico. A second reason for Lenormant to

project Sybaris away from the coast was a description by Athenaios (*Deipnosophistai* XII, 519), of the wine transport at Sybaris: from the vineyards the wine flowed through pipelines towards the storage rooms that the inhabitants of Sybaris owned on the coast. Part of the wine was sold abroad, part was transported in boats to the city. The mention of boats for transport to the city implies that Athenaios was referring to quite a respectable distance from harbour to city. Three stages can be discerned in the archaeological search for Sybaris - each with different, time-related scopes.

The first stage

Although certainly the most stimulating and widely read explorer among the early researchers, Lenormant was not in fact the first to look for Sybaris. Almost immediately after the founding of the new state of Italy, Italian archaeological explorations in various backward regions began. These early activities during the latter decades of the 19th century must be regarded as the state's demonstration that it was not only Rome which was important to the new Italia. Moreover, Lenormant's exhortations to the European elite to travel in Magna Graecia demonstrate that a dash for impressive roots certainly could be of help to Italy's standing in Europe.

On the 30th of January 1879, Francesco S. Cavallari, then director of the Museum at Syracuse, began his search for Sybaris in the malaria-infested swamps near the Crati and Coscile rivers (Cavallari 1879, 49-52, 122-124, 156-159, 245-253). He had been sent by Giuseppe Fiorelli, general director of the Ministry of Public Instruction in Rome, to whom Lenormant later dedicated his book. Cavallari started an excavation near the confluence of the Crati and the Coscile (probably the ancient Sybaris river). Crossing these rivers was often difficult because they were so swollen that they could not be forded by the hired *buffale*. In the Caccia di Favella zone, at the Timpone Grande (*timpone* = mound in the regional dialect) Cavallari unearthed a grave (*Fig. 1*) with two Orphic inscriptions on gold foil (Zuntz 1971, 4A and C). Three more tombs on the Timpone Piccola (*Fig. 1*) each contained a further Orphic gold leaf (Zuntz 1971, A1, 2 and 3; Osanna 1992, 155 ff.).

In 1887 Luigi Viola, director of the Museum at Taranto, was sent by Fiorelli to discover Sybaris as well. Drilling deeply into the soil Viola, although practicing a revolutionary new way of research, failed to strike Sybaris because he followed Lenormant's topographical indications. His search in the end led him to explore the vast flat hilltop called Torre del Mordillo (*Fig. 1*), where in 1888 he brought to light an important Oenotrian *fossa* necropolis, the

precise location of which is now lost (Pasqui 1888, 239-268, 462-480, 575-592, 648-671).

Edoardo Galli, in the *Sibaritide* in 1928-'30, initially excavated upstream from Pollinara on the right bank of the Coscile, where he found a number of Roman villae (Galli 1929, 7-128; Osanna 1992, 155-156). From a small hill south of Pollinara, known as Michellicchio (*Fig. 1*), he reported marble fragments and ancient pottery. From a peasant he purchased three terracotta 'masks' (almost certainly heads of terracotta statuettes or *pinakes*) and fragments of a terracotta horse, all dating to the Archaic period (Cavallari 1879, 50, 87; Arias 1941a, 49-56; Quilici et al. 1969, 130 no. 510 with literature; Guzzo 1982a, c, 1987, 166; Osanna 1992, 155). Galli relates that the stationmaster sold many similar masks to tourists, and draws attention to an Archaic marble head which had also surfaced, perhaps between Spezzano and Terranova di Sibari. One wonders if these important finds, which all suddenly turn up in Galli's time, are at all related to the very intensive reclamation works which were carried out in the plain from 1928-'32 by the *Società Anonima per le Bonifiche del Mezzogiorno*. These vast earth-moving projects included the excavation of canals like the Scavolino ditch, which crosses the region explored by Cavallari; the construction of artesian wells and roads; the channeling of rivers and torrents by dykes and embankments; as well as the building of two villages. One of these was named Sibari. However, Galli himself, keeping a close watch on the *bonifica* works, reported only negative results as to the presence of archaeological remains: the deep and extensive trenches for the bridge just above the junction of Crati and Coscile only turned up layers of sterile sands, as did the digging at the Valle del Marinaro, thought to be the ancient bed of the Crati. These reports are in contrast to his comments on the Archaic terracottas (a problem to be dealt with below).

Aware of these negative results near the confluence of the Coscile and the Crati, Ulrich Kahrstedt, professor at the University of Göttingen, after a visit to the area (Kahrstedt 1931, 279-288; 1932a, 1-9; 1932b, 130-136), promoted the idea that the Coscile was not to be identified with the Sybaris of ancient times, and that the *torrente* San Mauro was a more likely candidate (*Fig. 1*). This then would mean that ancient Sybaris would have been situated further to the south and that the earthen mounds, of which Cavallari had excavated a few, would belong to the original necropolis of Sibari/Thurioi/Copiai. In fact, various authors had already contributed to the creation of a necropolis of mythical proportions by interpreting all of the circa 40 dunes along one of the old riverbeds as grave mounds (Zanotti Bianco 1960, 7f.).

Umberto Zanotti Bianco, founder and director of the *Società Magna Graecia*, immediately dug trenches through several of these mounds as well as many trenches of 2 m. deep in the areas indicated by Kahrstedt, and found nothing but sand (Zanotti Bianco 1960, 7-20). He laments that not even a single pebble was found. However, by moving his searches to the north bank of the Crati, he discovered the large public hemispherical complex of Copiai, a theatre which, thanks to Kahrstedt, the learned world for a long time regarded as a Roman villa. Although Zanotti Bianco immediately opposed Kahrstedt's opinion, and although later excavations made it increasingly clear that this building was not a villa, Kahrstedt maintained his view (Zanotti Bianco 1932, 283-291; Kahrstedt 1960a, 90; Kahrstedt 1960b, 61-64). At last, in 1932, it was senator Zanotti himself who, during further excavations in the theatre area, found a sculpted stone head from the middle of the 6th century BC, which was regarded as proof for the existence of Sybaris on the north bank of the Krathis (Zancani Montuoro 1961, 8-63; Zanotti Bianco 1960, 7-20). Many thought it insufficient proof, because the piece remained an *unicum*.

Because Galli had reported the finding of a column in this area shortly before Zanotti's discovery (Galli 1932, 130-136), a controversy arose between Galli and Zanotti as to who had been the first to discover ancient Sybaris. The conflict was heightened by the fact that the *Soprintendenza Archeologica* at Reggio Calabria had nominated Galli as their archaeologist but was in fact supporting Zanotti, who was not only interested in archaeology but was also an important political figure in the *mezzogiorno* (Sabbione/Spadea 1981, 115-136). In any case, by the activities of both gentlemen it became known, though not very widely, that evidence for public Greek buildings had been found near the mouth of the Krathis. In European archaeology, however, Kahrstedt's villa-identification was still circulating, and not much attention was paid to the discoveries until long after the Second World War. The fascist police had interrupted Zanotti Bianco's enterprise, and archaeological excavations were anyway halted by the war. The main publications on this episode appeared long afterward. Lost cases full of Sibari material that had been re-found in the Museum at Reggio Calabria were finally published by Paola Zancani Montuoro, the Naples/Sorrento based discoverer of the Heraion on the Foce del Sele (Zancani Montuoro 1961, 8-63). Zanotti Bianco, by then a politician busy rebuilding Italy, added a short report only (1960, 7-20).

The second stage

The second stage of the search for Sybaris took place during the 1950s and 1960s. First by Donald F.

Brown, who subsequently worked at Harvard (Brown 1960, 144; 1963, 40-47). Later by Frölich Rainey, director at the Pennsylvania University Museum, together with the Lerici foundation, which was invited to join the search by the '*Ritorno a Sibari*' association (Lerici 1960, 303-337; Rainey & Lerici 1967; Rainey 1969, 261-273). These activities clearly are an outcome of American post-war military and economic interests in Europe. The military was physically present in the Mediterranean with the famous 6th fleet. American museums and universities wished to know and see more of European culture. New archaeological sites and objects had to be exciting enough to attract sponsoring and the interest of the general public. In Southern Italy malaria was no longer a problem, the first good hotels (Jolly!) were available, and a number of passable motoring roads had been constructed (Morton 1969, 309). In the case of Sybaris the earlier explorations had sufficiently demonstrated how difficult it was to locate this ancient city under layers of waterlogged alluvial clay and coastal sands. But in the optimistic post-war decades it was thought that new technological equipment would, in a short time, overcome these problems. The primary objective of much of the American search was to test the application of new prospecting devices - resistance apparatus for measuring electrical conductivity in soils, seismic instruments for detecting the refraction of shock waves in the earth, magnetic instruments, primarily magnetometers, sonic devices to record reflections of high-frequency impulses introduced into the ground, and a variety of metal-detectors. Orville Bullitt, a rich American sponsor of archaeology who paid for much of this research, in his reports not only makes clear the tremendous costs and energy poured into the effort, but also his personal interest in the search for the riches of Sybaris (Bullitt 1971). With steadily better magnetometers and drills, the Pennsylvania team worked for seven years in the plain of Sybaris. Every time roof tiles and wall parts turned up, hopes arose of having struck ancient Sybaris. However, each time closer analysis of the finds (Paola Zancani Montuoro, Maria W. Stoop and the writer of this article were working nearby at Francavilla Marittima and were often consulted) showed mortar particles, terra sigillata, or other indications that the date of the buildings more likely was Medieval, Roman, or, in a few cases, perhaps Hellenistic. The American instruments turned up the largest ancient features, such as the 'long walls', first. Drilling in the Parco del Cavallo area rendered a few, minuscule, Archaic sherds. But sherds were not enough; the director of the enterprise, Rainey, evidently deeply convinced of Lenormant's idea that Archaic cities are associated with large temples,

admirably refused to announce that he had found Sybaris, because he had found nothing remotely looking like a temple.

By excavating a single long transverse trench across it, the Museum of Pennsylvania together with the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria* in these years also further explored the plateau of Torre Mordillo. The Americans expected to find Thurioi here and indeed managed to unearth, on top of proto-historical layers, not Thurioi but an unidentified Hellenistic settlement (Colburn 1967, 30-38; Colburn 1973; Colburn 1977, 423-526; Edwards 1969, 30-35; Osanna 1992, 156-158). Italian excavators would later demonstrate that ancient Thurioi, the famous new colony founded by the Sybarites with the help of Athens in 443 BC (Diodoros XII.10.7), was located in part underneath Roman Copiai (Guzzo 1970, 15-23).

All in all the American explorations of the Sybaritic plain confirmed Zanotti's conclusions regarding Archaic Sybaris: in the Parco del Cavallo subsequent strata of Roman, Hellenistic, Attic as well as Archaic Greek sherds were drilled up, so Parco del Cavallo covered the three ancient settlements. The Americans interpreted this part of the site as the harbour. A second location where the Americans drilled up Archaic sherds was called Stombi, 1.5 km to the north of Parco del Cavallo and immediately south of the ancient bed of the Coscile (Bullitt 1971, 199, 207). These activities were not only financed and followed up by Americans; Italian private societies also played a part, most prominently the already mentioned *Società Magna Grecia* and the *Ritorno a Sibari* association founded by E. Candido, A. Putignano and A. De Santis in 1959. These amateur archaeologists recuperated the material of the Zanotti-Bianco excavations, and helped to create an archaeological room in the new village of Sibari.

The third stage

The American activities excited the Italians into further action; in 1969 a new phase in the search for Sybaris began with extensive Italian excavation campaigns. Scholars and politicians present at the VIIIth Archaeological Congress at Taranto were just in time to prevent the installation of a large petrochemical plant on top of the ancient site. In return, the industrialists forced the politicians and archaeologists to immediately demonstrate the importance of the site. A board of consultant and assisting archaeologists was created in order to oversee archaeological research at Sybaris undertaken with the finances of the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione* - the money was separately paid into the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*).² The first result

was a survey of the whole of the *Sibaritide* directed by Lorenzo Quilici (Quilici et al. 1968-69, 89-155); the second a string of excavation campaigns, directed from 1969-'74 by Pier Giovanni Guzzo (published in five supplements to the *Notizie degli Scavi* 1970, 1973, 1974, 1978 and 1992; here SIBARI I, II, III, IV and V).

Trial trenches were dug at five locations, and these indeed demonstrated the subsequent presence of Sybaris, Thurioi and Copiai, and made clear that these settlements overlap only partially. The archaeological zone was estimated to be 50 ha in size, of which today only circa 16 ha have in fact been explored. The maintenance of the excavated area became an urgent problem for the archaeological committee, since the monuments were several metres below ground water level and had to be kept dry by continuous pumping. The pumps and machinery of the famous well-point system, already used in a limited way by the American team, were now applied extensively and were kept working day and night. An extensive maintenance workshop started to function at the *Scavi di Sibari* and does so till today in order to keep dry the steadily appearing monuments of Copiai-Thurioi which were declared an Archaeological Park and opened to the public. An office with a responsible archaeologist, detached by the *Soprintendenza archeologica di Calabria*, and a restoration workshop and laboratory were installed in the Park as well, in order to continue the archaeological exploration of the site.

Another important result of the Committee's work in the 1970s was the creation of a small museum in a building vacated by the Reclamation Office (*Consorzio di Bonifica*) near the station at Sibari. This museum later became famous because of its exhibition of tombs excavated at the Macchiabate necropolis by Paola Zancani Montuoro in the 1960s, and finds from the Athenaion excavated on the nearby hilltop of Timpone della Motta. This sanctuary was excavated by Maria W. Stoop from Leiden University, who at the time also installed the exhibitions. A collection of sherds from Sybaris, also exhibited at the museum, unfortunately presented a poor show against the splendid material from Francavilla Marittima.

Today the preliminary reports on all the Sibari excavations have appeared, and much can be learned from these detailed publications. In the first place it has become clear that the mud brought on by the Crati and Coscile rivers since antiquity has moved

² The commission consisted of D. Adamesteanu, F. Castagnoli, A. Croce, N. Degrassi, V. Di Gioia, M. Pallottino, E. Paribeni, G. Pugliese Caratelli, G. Rossi, S. Serangeli and P. Zancani Montuoro (from 1969-1975).

the coast line out to sea by 2.5 km, while the soil these rivers deposited over the ancient remains is at places over 6 m. thick. The excavations took place at the following areas.

1. *Parco del Cavallo* (Fig. 3), the site of the theatre where Archaic remains were found incorporated in Roman buildings. The semicircular theatre, itself constructed on top of a levelled older Roman *domus* (Paoletti 1993, 379-430), is located at a crossing of two ancient streets; the North/South street has a width of 13 meters and the East/West one is half as wide, i.e. 6.50 m. Next to the theatre two other large public buildings, a *macellum* in *opus reticulatum* and a bath house were found, all dating to the Roman period and thus part of Copiai (founded in 194 BC as a *colonia latina*). The excavators think that the site of Parco del Cavallo was the centre too in the period of Sybaris, in the first place because here the public buildings of Copiai contained as *spolia* the finely sculpted limestone parts of two temples, one with triglyphs and metopes, the other with a sculpted frieze (Mertens 1993, 567-569). And in the second place because in the lower strata limestone blocks were found (see paragraph below). Behind the large public buildings of Copiai Roman private houses came to light, in which various trial trenches could be dug into the deeper strata. Potsherds dating from the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries BC appeared, confirming the American conclusions that underneath Copiai older layers were present at this location. In the trial trenches at the locations of the 'rectangular building' and 'Fehlmann 3' the already mentioned Archaic limestone blocks turned up (SIBARI V, 73f). These blocks lay in a layer containing exclusively Archaic material, which were found beneath almost sterile alluvial strata. These alluvial strata mark the division between the Archaic and the Classical/Hellenistic layers, since the strata above the alluvium contained pottery not older than the 2nd half of the 5th century BC. The streets mentioned above (the broader ones often indicated, after ancient usage, as *plateiai* and the smaller ones as *stenopoi*) belong to Thurioi as well as Copiai. One would like to think that the Romans respected the work of the famous architect Hippodamos of Miletos, who designed Thurioi on an orthogonal plan (Greco & Torelli 1983; Greco 2000, 575-583).
2. The second site Guzzo's team excavated is labelled *Prolungamento Strada* (Fig. 3) because it concerns the stretch of *stenopos* from the crossing at the theatre towards the next crossing to the east, found at 295 meters (= 1000 Attic feet) distance. This section of road is bordered with Roman houses as well, some of which must go back to the period of Thurioi but are so perfectly incorporated into the Roman buildings, that their identification poses as yet insurmountable trouble.
3. *Casa Bianca*, the third area explored (Fig. 3), lies along the same street again, at 700 meters eastward from the crossing at Parco del Cavallo. It is thought that Thurioi ended here because an open area paved with stones and the remains of two flanking round buildings were found. The former identification of the paved area as a ship portage, and hence the entire location as part of the port of Thurioi, has now been abandoned; it seems at that time open water did not reach this part of the town. At Casa Bianca the so-called 'long walls' (a Roman defence system) turn inland.
4. *Incrocio*, the fourth area excavated (Fig. 3), is at 3.50 m. from the crossing at Parco del Cavallo. Here the *plateia* has been followed until one of the gates was met.
5. The fifth area, the so-called *Stombi*, also named *Parco dei Tori*, all in all brought the most surprising results (Fig. 3). In the first place because Archaic houses came to light without much overbuilding by either Thurioi or Copiai, and in the second because it lies 1.8 km to the north of Parco del Cavallo. The Stombi houses are of a private nature, constructed on foundations of river cobbles, probably with walls of pisé or mudbrick. This layout is fairly regular according to a rectangular system; some of the houses have courtyards, some porches, others have wells, and two contained small pottery kilns. The roofs were covered with pan tiles and pentagonal *imbrices*. In house f a small votive deposit came to light, indicating a house cult. The only precious object found at Stombi is a gilded silver pectoral (Guzzo 1993b, 265 nr. L.IIIA1 with lit.). These buildings belong to the last part of Sybaris' life, the second half of the 6th c. BC (the last datable pottery consists of Bloesch type C cups). The excavators think that earlier houses, of a more or less similar lay-out, were removed in favour of the constructions found. They interpret trenches with sterile sand appearing beneath the 6th c. BC houses as evidence for earlier constructions. The stones of former walls are thought to have been removed because of the scarcity of that material in this alluvial coastal area (Guzzo 1996, 123). The large-scale excavations at Sibari were halted in 1974; excavation still continues on a smaller scale, today directed by Silvana Luppino and Emanuele Greco, who is exploring Thurioi (Greco 2000, 575-583). It must be feared that the first days of Sybaris and the reality of the famed splendour of the Archaic



Fig. 3. Map of the Sibari excavation pits 1960-1974.

city will remain a mystery for many generations to come, because excavation of the lowest levels of the site has been cancelled after the few trenches dug with so much trouble under the directorship of Pier Giovanni Guzzo. Geologists fear that further lowering of the groundwater level, which collects 4 m. below the present surface, could lead to the total collapse of the area (Guzzo 1993, 54).

2 LEADING OPINIONS ON THE COLONISATION OF THE SIBARITIDE

Pier Giovanni Guzzo and Emanuele Greco, today the leading scholars for the archaeology of the ancient Greek colonisation period in the *Sibaritide*, both extensively excavated at the site of Sybaris/Thuriol/Copiai and in various articles and books presented influential views on the founding and expansion of this Greek *polis* (Guzzo 1982a,b,c, 1984, 1987, 1993, 1996; Greco 1990, 1993, 1999, 2000). Noteworthy in their works is the fact that archaeological evidence from native sites surrounding the plain of Sybaris (Guzzo) as well as towns probably founded by her (Greco), plays a larger role than that from the colony itself.

In Guzzo's eyes it was the early Greek activities in the *Sibaritide* that first attracted the native Oenotrians to settle near the coast, at sites such as Torre del

Mordillo and Francavilla Marittima (Guzzo 1982a, 146-151). This scholar interprets the presence of Greek and Phoenician objects from the first three quarters of the 8th c. BC in a number of female tombs near the native hill-top villages around the plain as evidence for pre-colonisation activities of Peloponnesian seafarers, *en route* via eastern Sicily and the Straits of Messina to the Euboian colonies of Pithekoussai (on Ischia) and Kyme (on Italy's west coast near Naples). Peloponnesian interests are deduced from the foreign imports, for example the 'lyre-player group' scarab from tomb T69 of the Macchiabate necropolis at Francavilla Marittima (a scarab of the same group as those found in children's tombs at Pithekoussai: Boardman 1990, 1-17) and the chevron MG *skyphos* from Torre Mordillo as well as the Thapsos- and Protocorinthian *kotylai* in tombs T8 and U15 at Macchiabate and the *kotyle* from tomb 5 of the Roggiano-Prunetta necropolis (table 5). Two votive objects at Olympia, a serpentine fibula with flattened end (a type otherwise known only from the *Sibaritide*) and a 4-spiral fibula which certainly had its main distribution in the *Sibaritide* too, are also mentioned as the outcome of Peloponnesian colonial interests (Guzzo 1982b, 237-250).

As to the next step in the Greek colonisation of the *Sibaritide*, early sanctuaries are an important argument in Guzzo's work (Guzzo 1987, 373-379). At Francavilla Marittima a large temple precinct existed on the Timpone della Motta, and in analogy Guzzo reads finds from Torre Michellicchio and Torre Mordillo - where Protocorinthian pottery of the same character as at Francavilla Marittima, and in the case of Torre Michellicchio also similar terracotta *pinakes*, are reported to have been found - as evidence for the foundation of several Greek sanctuaries around the plain. These are seen as Greek *santuari di frontiera*, i.e. as a purposeful means to control the plain. Recently, Renato Peroni also read the few Greek 7th c. BC sherds which came to light at Broglio di Trebisacce as evidence for religious activity of some kind, adding to the idea that the 7th c. BC Greeks first dominated the *Sibaritide* by way of sanctuaries (Peroni 2000, 81-83). Frontier sanctuaries existed on the Greek mainland as well, and were for the Greeks a well-tested system to defend a cultural and political area; in fact Guzzo here follows De Polignac, who discussed the phenomenon in his dissertation and was the first to draw attention to the temple precinct on the Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima as a frontier sanctuary (De Polignac 1984, 1995, 1999; G. Greco 1999, 231-247).

Guzzo's date for the foundation of Sybaris follows the literary sources (last decade of the 8th c. BC: Eusebius, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, (table 6)) but

the archaeological evidence again mainly derives from the surrounding native villages. What counts heavily in Guzzo's reasoning is the argument that apart from the few sites which in his view came under Sybarite influence early on (Torre Michellicchio, Torre Mordillo, Francavilla Marittima, Amendolara), after 700 BC little archaeological evidence of settlement can be presented for a wide arc around Sybaris. Guzzo then follows the historical sources, and especially Antiochos (in Strabo 6.1.15). These describe an early 7th c. BC spreading of Achaian power along the Ionian coast. We are told that Achaian aggression was directed against the Tarantines, and culminated in the Achaian foundation of the *polis* of Metapontion. The date mentioned by Eusebius for the foundation of Taras is 706 BC (III.4). In accordance with these literary sources, Guzzo's next important argument stems from the presence of Greek cups, dating to the 1st half of the 7th c. BC, in native tombs in the Paladino/Uomo Morto necropolis at Amendolara (table 5). In fact in each grave one Greek cup was present among grave gifts of native

pots. This combination of grave gifts is explained as evidence for the existence of a native settlement dominated by Sybaris at an important point in the landscape. Amendolara, located at the northern end of the Sybarite plain, was in Guzzo's view an important bridgehead for the Sybarites during their struggle with Siris and their activities towards the foundation of Metapontion. However, archaeological evidence for the domination of the Achaians in the *SiritidelMetapontino* is usually dated no earlier than the second half of the 7th c. BC (cf. the next paragraph). Implicit to Guzzo's theories are Greek oppressing activities of an as yet undiscovered nature in the *Sibaritide*, during the first half of the 7th c. BC, which would account for the absence of archaeological data for this period in this region. The problem is that the evidence gained to date from the Sibari trial trenches does not support Guzzo's conclusion: the first half of the 7th c. BC, except for Francavilla Marittima, is archaeologically largely unattested anywhere in the *Sibaritide*, the site of Sibari itself included (see tables 1-5).

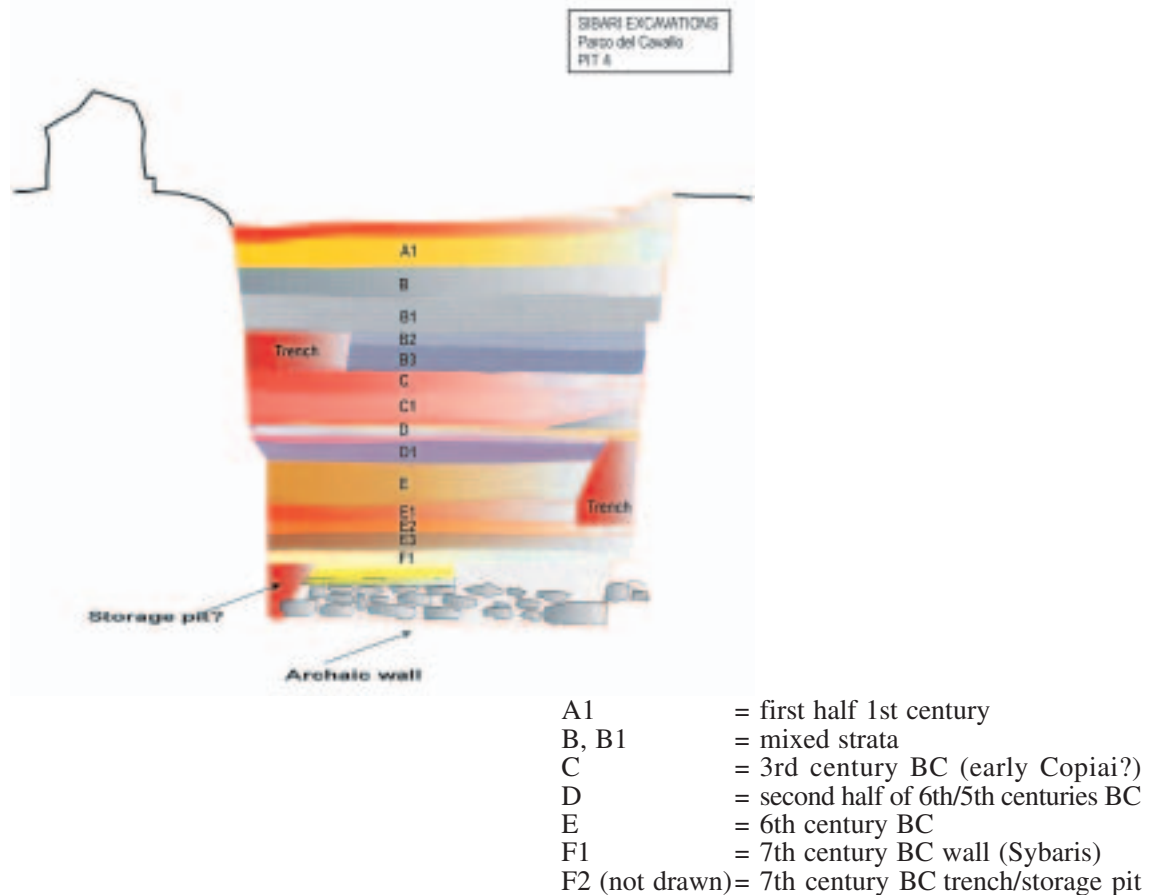


Fig. 4. Parco del Cavallo area, test pit 4.

A wall is visible on the plan of test pit 4 in Parco del Cavallo (SIBARI II, fig. 91), which is not discussed with layer F2 and indeed seems unconnected to it (Fig. 4). Layer F1 above corresponds to the structure to which this wall probably belongs; the material from F1 is not older than early Corinthian (SIBARI II, p. 165). Test pit 4 was 4.70 to 4.80 m. deep and reached a 'trench with clay, bones and sherds' among which the neck of a Rhodian jug (SIBARI II, n. 378), three matching Thapsos cup fragments (SIBARI II, n. 349-351) and an Oenotrian fragment (SIBARI II, n. 411). Thus this feature with sherds and bones, cut by a wall of later date, is a true remains of the late 8th/early 7th c. BC (table 1). Further evidence of 7th c. BC occupation consists of constructed wells (Fig. 5) in the Parco del Cavallo Fehlmann 3 area (SIBARI II, V, Fig. 53), that contain some early 7th c. BC pottery, but most dates from the second half of the 7th c. BC (tables 1-2).

At Stombi, trench 6 south perhaps dates to the end of the 7th c. BC (table 3). Earlier structures must have been about underneath the houses of the second half

of the 6th c. BC, because 7th and 6th c. BC potsherds turned up (tables 3 and 4). The earliest structures built at Stombi, according to the excavators, left no sherds *in situ*; but only sterile trenches; compare for instance the trench with sterile sand underneath *edificio M* (SIBARI III, 35; SIBARI IV, 32-36 fig 15-19) and underneath house c (SIBARI V, 175). To these sterile trenches, which according to the excavators belong to 7th c. BC houses. Similar trenches beneath a 6th c. BC house recently excavated beyond the north gate of Thurioi/Copiai, must be added; again no 7th c. BC sherd material turned up in them.

The fact that Greek imported pottery fragments from the end of the 7th c. BC appeared at the *Prolungamento Strada*, is interpreted by the excavators as proof that all the main occupational areas, some 1500/2000 m. apart, at that time were already completely parceled out to colonists (Guzzo 1982b, 245f).

Although neither the Sibari trenches nor any other archaeological features in the *Sibaritide*, *Siritide* and *Metapontino* at the moment warrant such a conclusion, Guzzo is convinced of the early domination of

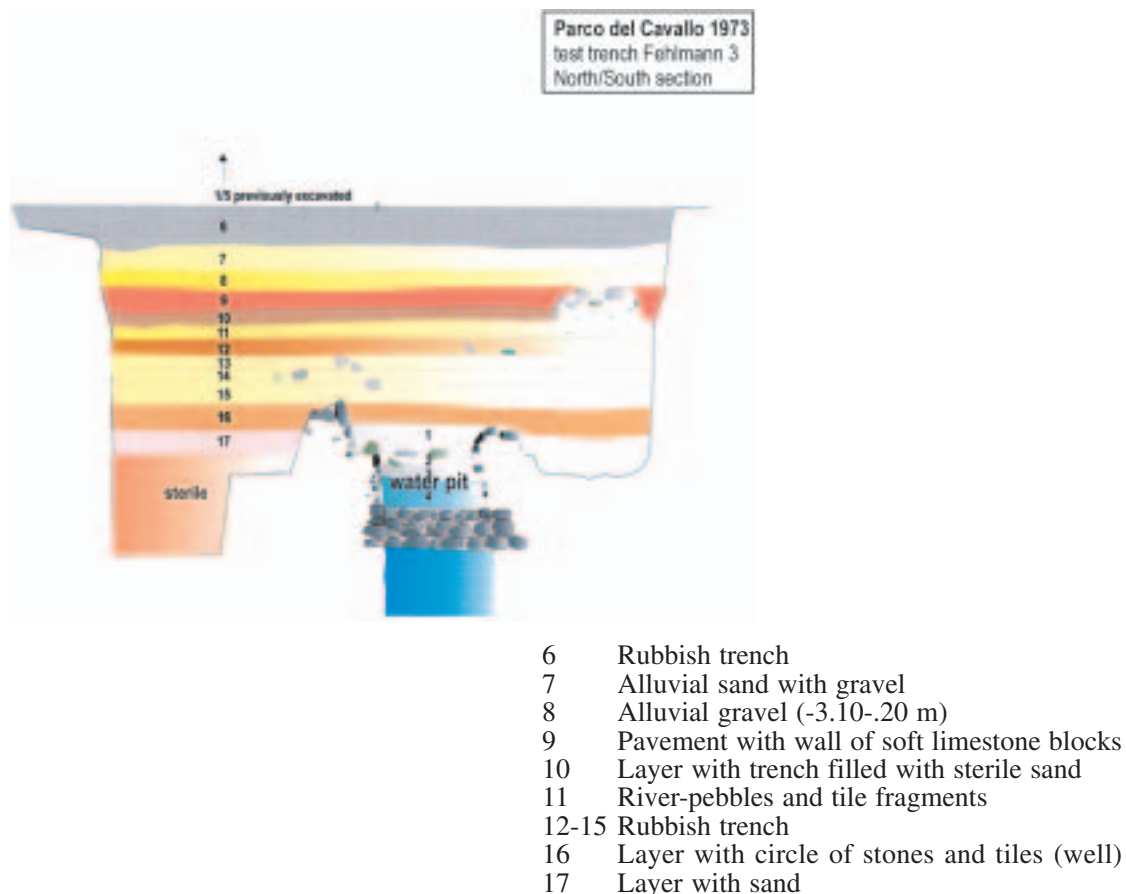


Fig. 5. Parco del Cavallo area, pit Fehlmann 3.

the Achaïans in these areas. For instance, he pictures the Sybarites as the founders of a frontier temple at Siris/Polieion already as early as the first generation of their existence at Sybaris (Guzzo 1989, 37-46). Guzzo's publications on the *Sibaritide* are very stimulating for the study of this area, but at times they seem to be too partial to the Achaïans. It seems the colonial theories of the 19th and 20th centuries strongly influenced his work. Especially (1) the use of the Megara Hyblaia model for the distribution of colonial land (Guzzo 1982b, 243f.), (2) the reading of fragments of native pottery in the lowest occupational levels at Sybaris as evidence for native labour in the service of the Greeks (Guzzo 1982b, 243f), and (3) the use of fibula with long pin as evidence for intermarriage of colonists and native women (Guzzo 1982d, 60-61).

Emanuele Greco reads a different story in the archaeological features in the *Sibaritide*, a story that incorporates the natives more (Greco 1999, 281-292). Moreover, he does not assume an early date for the power ascribed to Sybaris - Strabo writes that it reigned over three tribes (*ethnai*) and 25 towns (*poleis hypekooi*), as well as had an army of 300,000 men against Kroton and a city wall of 50 stadia (Strabo VI, 1, 13; Greco 1993, 459-485). On the contrary, he holds a date in the 6th c. BC for the rise of the 'imperium of Sybaris' far more likely, since inscriptions like PAL/MOL and SIRINO-PYXOES on 6th c. BC coins with types of Sibarite influence, were struck by native towns on the Tyrrhenian coast which thus almost certainly were dominated at that time by Sybaris. Recent archaeological research has demonstrated that during the 6th c. BC many new native towns arose on the first hills east of the Tyrrhenian coast (cf. also La Torre 1993, 180-202). New settlement under Sybaris would date earlier if Sybaris had been powerful earlier on; earlier periods, however, show an 'empty' coast. These facts for Greco are sufficient reason to interpret a bronze plaque found at Olympia, with an inscription praising the *philotas* between Sybarites and Serdaioi, as referring to a native population along the Tyrrhenian coast. The people with that ethnic nomen must have struck the famous coins dated to the end of the 6th/start of the 5th c. BC and inscribed SER-SERD with Dionysiac types. Similar 6th c. BC Sybarite expansion also happened to the south. Greco interprets the well known 6th c. BC blocks of houses excavated by Juliette de la Genière at Amendolara (De la Genière & Nickels 1975, 483-498), as evidence for Sybarite expansion in this direction. This is especially convincing, as the S. Nicola houses are very similar to the ones at Stombi. Today, the houses excavated at Francavilla Marittima may also be seen as the result of 6th c. BC Sybarite expansion. The houses on the terraces of

the Timpone della Motta are slightly different in layout, but demonstrate the same construction techniques and contain the same materials as do the houses at Stombi and Amendolara. However, the main occupants of these villages, as on the Tyrrhenian coast, still were natives (Kleibrink forthcoming).

3 SETTLEMENT MODELS FOR THE 7TH CENTURY BC IN SOUTHERN ITALY

Kroton

An interesting comparison for the colonisation of Sybaris and its territory is the situation at Kroton, a Greek colony on the Ionian coast to the south, which was also founded by Achaïans (Justinian 709-708 BC). In the area of the later *polis*, at many points far apart, evidence for Greek immigrants consists of a relatively large number of Thapsos and sub-Thapsos fragments. Deeper digging at a number of locations rendered native potsherds (Osanna 1992, 168ff). As the excavations mostly have been carried out underneath the houses and streets of the Crotone of today, not much is known of the contexts of these potsherds. A single necropolis has come to light at the site of Carrara, and over 500 of its tombs have been excavated (Osanna 1992, 168f). Burial started here in the 8th and 7th c. BC, sporadic serpentine fibulae indicate disturbed native tombs, while a few tombs with pottery of the Thapsos and sub-Thapsos classes indicate Greek interest. The territory north of the river Neto was densely settled by natives: Murge di Strongoli, Cirò-S. Elia and Cirò-Cozzo Leone, three sites never systematically excavated but rather systematically plundered, are known to have consisted of huts, tombs and, at Murge, a sacred building. The goddess of Murge was venerated from the second half of the 7th c. BC onward with, among other things, terracotta statuettes and mini *hydriksai*. She had her sanctuary on the highest top of the hilly system (400 m. asl); lower down natives and 'Greeks' - recognised by a few cremation tombs among the native *fossa* graves - settled the gentler slopes at least until the end of the 6th c. BC; the votive deposit of the sanctuary held datable material until the 3rd c. BC (Osanna 1992, 197ff). Another sanctuary in a native context was erected on the Timpone del Gigante at Cotronei (Osanna 1992, 199ff), again known only because of a plundered votive deposit with miniature vessels and potsherds dating from the middle of the 7th c. BC onwards. This sanctuary dominates the Neto valley, meandering inland to the higher slopes of the Sila, an indication that the native village (as in the *Sibaritide*) controlled the main corridors in the river valleys from the sea towards the

hinterland. Other such villages controlling river valleys were probably (no systematic excavations!) S. Mauro Marchesato (Tacina river) and S. Severina-Altilia (Neto river) (Osanna 1992, 170ff). Large Archaic sanctuaries of ancient Kroton itself are the Apollo sanctuary at Punta Alice, and the Hera sanctuaries at Cape Lacinia and at Vigna Nuova (the deity is less certain here). The sanctuary at S. Anna di Sutro, at a distance of 10 km from Kroton, has been compared to that at S. Biagio near Metapontion (both sanctuaries have been attributed to a chthonian Artemis). That official *polis* cults started in these extra-urban sanctuaries after the middle of the 7th c. BC has been deduced from the votive deposits, which contain *filetti* cups, 'daedalic' statues and the like. However, from underneath the Hera Lacinia temple earlier precious native objects have come to light (Spadea 1997, 244), which indicate that in this case the cult may have started earlier and that native interest was certainly involved.

Siris-Polieion

Although lacking at Sibari, archaeological evidence for the early 7th c. BC is present at the site of Siris/Polieion, where this horizon is much discussed because archaeological features make it likely that the founding of this *polis* took place only later, probably just before the middle of the 7th c. BC. Written sources place the first Greek activities in this region far back. Strabo (VI.1. 14) writes that Trojans founded Siris at the homonymous river (now Sinni), but later Ionians took the site and renamed it Polieion (Timaios and Aristoteles in Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* XII.532c). These Ionians originated from Kolophon, which they fled because of its occupation by Gyges and his Lydians. Siris/Polieion was destroyed by a united force of its neighbours Metapontion, Sybaris, and Kroton, between 560 and 530 BC (Justinus XX. 2. 1-10).

The 7th c. BC necropoleis of Schirone and Madonelle at Siris/Polieion therefore often are seen as evidence for proto-colonial activities of several different groups of East Greeks and native peoples. At Siris/Polieion, in the western part of the Castello hilltop and underneath Hellenistic house blocks, sets of Archaic pots came to light as well as shallow round pits (usually with a maximum depth of 1.25 m. and a diameter of between 1 and 4/5 m.), which originally must have contained the vessels (Giardino 1998, 105-122). This kind of shallow pit, which also appeared during the excavations at Incoronata, Metapontion, and Termito, is much discussed (Orlandini 1986a, b, 1991; De Siena 1986a, b, 1996). The fact that no post-holes appeared in connection with any of the pits (except perhaps in one case) makes it difficult to interpret them as deepened hut floors. The only

currently apparent fact about these pits is that the many sherds in them can almost always be reconstructed into complete vessels. Moreover, many of the smaller pits seem to contain the fitting sherds of storage jars and other larger containers. The best explanation so far is therefore, that these shallow pits belong to storage rooms excavated below the hut floors (De Siena 1996). It seems the original hut floors and fills, as well as the post holes, have completely disappeared, either because of levelling for new buildings (as at Siris/Polieion) or by erosion and agricultural activities (as at Incoronata).

At Siris/Polieion the pots reconstructed from the sherds in the pits are either imported from Corinth, for instance ovoid Protocorinthian *aryballoi* and *filetti* cups, or locally produced, for instance distinctive banded wares and pots decorated in Euboian and Cycladic styles. Elaborately decorated craters and *deinoi* were especially popular. The Archaic pots from this area date from two centuries, the 7th and 6th, the latest Greek pottery being black gloss Bloesch C cups from the end of the 6th/ start of the 5th c. BC.

More or less circular shallow pits with pottery were also present in quarter I of the Castello hill, where an Archaic house was constructed over seven such pits (Giardino 1998, 105-122). Thus there are two successive Archaic settlement phases, the first with huts, the second with a rectangular house of 4 x 7 (or more) m. Precise dating of the transition from huts to houses is impeded by the leveling for the construction of the house; most likely the transition dates well into the 6th c. BC. This is the date for a fine *bucchero* amphora decorated with spirals found in pit A, transected by the wall of the house. Several interesting rectangular houses of Archaic date were also found near the post-office and the adjacent Cospito-Caserta area. Most significant here is a rectangular house with a porch, internally divided into three rooms, with lengths of 4.80 m. (2x) and 3.20 m. (1x). This house type, usually labeled a *pastas* house, dates to the second half of the 7th c. BC. A number of smaller houses identified nearby, date from the second half of the 7th c. BC as well (Tagliente 1986b, 131-132 and Tagliente 1986a, 195). In fact, although constructed on a stone foundation and with mud brick walls, these are only cabins: for instance, one of them, with walls of 0.50 m. thick, measures only 4.50 x 2.50 m. Although these constructions were severely damaged by the Hellenistic necropolis laid out over them, it is certain that they had similar orientations. Interestingly, in this part of the settlement shallow pits have come to light east of the Cospito-Caserta property. It seems another such area could be identified on the southeast slope of the Castello hill (Bianco 1996, 17). A conclusion from the recent

discoveries, accepted by most scholars, is therefore that Greek 7th c. BC settlement at Siris/ Polieion was nucleated and consisted first of small hut compounds, each with its own small graveyard, and later of clusters of cabins, also with their own small groups of graves.

A monumental defensive wall constructed of mud bricks on a stone foundation, part of which was found at the post-office site, part along the southern slope of the Castello hill, has been dated to the middle of the 7th c. BC; most scholars see it as evidence of a restructuring of Siris/Polieion into a centralised *polis*. The archaeology of the sacred area in the valley south of the Castello hill seems to confirm this, the oldest objects found there dating to the beginning of the 7th c. BC, while the earliest certain cult objects (daedalic statuettes) date to the final quarter of that century. The earlier specimens copy Ionian styles, the later specimens are clearly Achaian (Otto 2000, 193-197).

Since early Greek settlement seems not to have been confined to the Castello hill, but was spread out more widely, one of the questions remaining from the new discoveries on the early history of Siris/Polieion is whether the nuclei belonged to a *polis* or to its *chora*. Another question is whether the different types of dwelling - huts, small rectangular cabins, *pastas* houses - indicate different periods, different ethnicities or different social levels of the inhabitants of Siris/Polieion.

Metapontion

The excavations carried out at Incoronata/Metapontion have been of great help in the reconstruction of early Greek settlement forms at Siris/Polieion. Ancient sources place the founding of Achaian Metapontion, an act of the Achaians against Taranto, around the beginning of the 7th c. BC (Antiochos in Strabo VI. 1.15); archaeological evidence places it, however, nearer the middle of that century. It was in the *Metapontino* that shallow pits filled with pottery were first found, occurring in two different contexts: 1) without any other structures present, 2) intersected by small rectangular cabins (*oikoi*). The University of Milano (INCORONATA I, II) excavated 40 shallow pits containing mostly native pottery; pit no. 1 contained 2400 potsherds, pit no. 4 2200 sherds. Pit no. 4 is interesting because it contained native pots decorated in two colours, usually considered to have been manufactured in the 7th c. BC, as well as a fragment of a Greek *kylix* decorated in the early Protocorinthian style - one of only three Greek fragments of imported pottery extant in native contexts (table 5), and the last in date (Orlandini 1998, 92). The excavators of the University of Milano divide settlement at Incoronata in two different periods.

From the 8th c. BC a native hut compound existed on the larger hilltop, the destruction of which is dated in the first decades of the 7th c. BC. A Greek *emporion* is thought to have been *in situ* around 675 BC on the nearby smaller hilltop. At 'Greek' Incoronata the excavators found a cluster of cabins with mud brick walls on stone foundations, now familiar from Siris/Polieion as well. At Incoronata the cabins often had partially sunken floors and some had sunken annexes of a rounded shape. The cabin in area T measured 3 x 4 m. and contained *pithoi*, Greek *amphorae*, Protocorinthian vessels, cups of grey buccheroid ware, and numerous locally made vessels such as *stamnoi* and *deinoi*. The latter are often decorated with horses (Orlandini 1998, 92-93). The inhabitants are thought to have been Ionians of the same origins as the inhabitants of Siris/Polieion. Orlandini explains the pottery fills in the cabins as commercial goods to be traded with the native Oenotrians. He dates the destruction of the Greek site to 640 BC and reads it as a consequence of the founding of Metapontion by the Achaians. The University of Milano's interpretation of the remains at Incoronata as subsequently a native and a Greek village is debatable, especially after Antonio De Siena discovered, quite near 'Greek' Incoronata, a native group of graves from the first half of the 7th c. BC, as well as shallow pits filled with indigenous and Greek pottery at the Andrisani and Lazzazera locations underneath the later site of Metapontion itself (De Siena 1986a, 199-212; De Siena 1986b, 135-156; De Siena 1996, 161-195). The native 7th c. BC graves are relatively poorly outfitted and predominantly male. The presence of groups of natives not far from 'Greek' Incoronata during the 7th c. BC is evident also from the native settlement remains at S. Theodoro, a hill adjacent to Incoronata, as well as at Termitito, which is located 10 km to the south of Incoronata (De Siena 1996, 161-195).

De Siena does not believe in two different ethnicities and a violent take-over of the native settlement at Incoronata. He points to the fact that the shallow, rounded annexes at 'Greek' Incoronata continue into the second half of the 7th c. BC and that, except for the contents, they are identical to the 'native' ones located on the larger hill (De Siena 1996, 192). He sees a predominantly native society in which renovation occurs in the 7th c. BC - a moment of complete hellenisation of the society. Consequently, De Siena interprets cabin 6 in area T as a normal house (instead of Orlandini's *emporion* storage room). Besides the vessels, which consist in all cases of native local manufacture, imports, and colonial productions, De Siena found many similarities between 'native' and 'Greek' Incoronata, as well as with the huts beneath Metapontion, which from their contents would also be

'native'. The destruction of the Andrisani huts is contemporaneous with that of 'Greek' Incoronata and probably due to the Achaians. At Termito similar pits with pottery are seen as the remains of smaller indigenous dwellings, that survived until, in the second half of the 7th c. BC, rectangular houses with several rooms are constructed out of mud brick on stone foundations (De Siena 1996, 161-195). Because no matching sanctuaries or Greek necropoleis have been found at Incoronata, S. Theodoro or Termito it seems to me that the degree of 'Greekness' of these settlements is indeed very low. The removal of dwellings from one hill to another nearby, together with a renovation at Incoronata during the 7th c. BC, recalls the often cited settlement migration at Amendolara (De la Genière 1978, 335-354). Instead of a manifestation of Sybarite power, the migrations of this village clearly may also be explained as the outcome of power shifts and changes in native societies.

Taras

However, the evidence from the site of L'Amastuola at Taranto is interpreted in the Orlandini manner, as a violent take-over: at 14 km to the north-west of Taranto a site has been discovered with flattened native huts overbuilt by 'Greek' cabins (Maruggi 1996, 197-218). The cabins are coeval with a nearby large necropolis, dating from the second quarter of the 7th c. to the first decades of the 6th c. BC. They have a foundation, circa 0.40 m. in height, of stone slabs alternating with smaller cobbles; the walls probably were in mud brick. Cabin γ measures 3.80 x 2.80 m.; cabin β constructed similar to γ measures 3.60 x 2.70 m. cabin β may have been constructed in a courtyard of 120 square metres, a lot size similar to that known from Megara Hyblaia. House α intersects a previous native subcircular hut, its Iapygian potsherds dating for the most part to the LG II period (730/20 - 690/80 BC). These discoveries at L'Amastuola confirm the pattern established by earlier excavators for the native coastal site of Torre Castelluccia east of Taranto, which is thought to have been completely destroyed by Greek settlers, while there is a period of abandonment between the native Borgo Nuovo and Saturo sites underneath the colonial settlement (Osanna 1992, 2-3). Whether we can decide for a violent take over by the Laconians at Taranto in contrast to a more gradual infiltration of native societies by Ionians in the Siritide/Metapontino depends on further discoveries.

Pithekoussai/Kyme

The presence of Greek settlers on the island of Ischia as well as in native or new sites along the Tyrrhenian

coast is already manifest early on. From the third quarter of the 8th c. BC onwards, a large part of the low hills behind the sea must have been occupied by small hut compounds, either for agricultural purposes or industrial ones (Coldstream 1994, 47-61; De Caro 1994 39f.). This pattern may have been present at Kyme too, since a Late Archaic defense wall contained sherds datable to LGI or even earlier. On Ischia the various archaeological features contain Phoenician red slip ware and its local imitations, as well as carinated local *impasto* bowls, amidst Greek sherds from Euboea and Corinth (D'Agostino/Soteriou 1998, 427-428). The population seems a mixed one, and the compounds of huts and cabins spread out over the island. The relation to purely native sites on Ischia is not yet well studied.

Conclusions on Sybaris

In view of the archaeological evidence obtained in the *Siritide* and *Metapontino* as well as from the colonised areas around Sybaris and from the excavated features at the site itself, it seems possible that the first occupation at the Parco del Cavallo and Stombi areas consists of huts with deepened storage areas. It is likely that the 'trench with pottery and bones' may be interpreted as such a feature. As elsewhere, these will have had a strongly 'native' character. On the evidence of the wells in Parco del Cavallo and the sterile wall trenches in the Stombi area, the next stage in the 7th c. BC possibly was the construction of clusters of cabins when the settlement was thoroughly hellenised. There is no early 7th c. BC evidence for any larger structures.

4 POTTERY EVIDENCE AND THE PHASES OF GREEK COLONIAL ENTERPRISE

The view one is likely to develop on the Greek colonisation of the *Sibaritide* and *Metapontino* depends heavily on the dating of the Corinthian imported material and especially the so-called Thapsos cups, fragments of which do occur in native tombs and in the lower strata at Parco del Cavallo and Parco dei Tori/Stombi, albeit in relatively late contexts (tables 1, 3). Guzzo considers these to be evidence for the activities of the Achaians in Sibari as well as in Amendolara (table 5) (e.g. Guzzo 1982a, 146-151). Sherds of this kind have been much discussed lately. Differences in date between Thapsos cups with a panel decoration between the handles and those with a continuous pattern of horizontal parallel lines on the lip are not uniformly accepted, nor is the division proposed by Dehl between early (= Late Geometric) cups with a lower body decoration of parallel horizontal lines and later

(= Early Protocorinthian) cups with uniformly black bodies (Dehl 1984). The discussion among archaeologists focuses on the question of which cups refer to pre-colonial and which ones to colonial economies; or in other words, the imported pots are used to establish the difference between Greek traders and settlers in the West (*Céramique* 1982; see also Crielaard 1995).

Recent discoveries have totally uprooted these earlier pottery models of trade and settler colonisation in Southern Italy. In the first place there has been discovered a number of Early and a very large quantity of Middle Geometric *skyphoi*, manufactured in several different Greek centres, in native hut compounds at Otranto: for instance, entirely painted cups from Corinth; pendant circle cups from Euboia; cups with chevron, bird, or meander panels, as well as proto-*kotylai* from Corinth (D'Andria 1985, 321-377; 1995, 457-549). Such early cups also surfaced in another, quite different native settlement: at Sant'Imbenia on Sardinia (e.g. Ridgway 1998, 317ff). Interestingly, in both cases we are dealing with native trading posts. The early cups in these native *emporion* do not yet occur on Ischia, from which only a few chevron cups are known (Coldstream 1995, 251-267). A second important discovery were dumps with Greek settlement material in several different locations on Ischia itself, dating from the 8th century BC, which show that the infill of the landscape around Pithekoussai was already well underway in that period - i.e., the site can no longer be called an *emporion* but must be considered to have been an *apoikia*. Finally, a third discovery concerns the typology of the Euboian pendant semi-circle cups. These vessels are not only found in the west, but also at Al Mina in the east, where they occur in the first stratum and are dated by Kearsley mainly in the Late Geometric period (Kearsley 1999, 108-134). Thus the following new facts emerge.

1. Part of the Euboian trade with the later Greek colonial areas can no longer be labelled 'pre-colonial' because Type 6 pendant semi-circle *skyphoi* (e.g. those from Veii and Villasmundo) date well into the second half of the 8th century BC. This revised date may change the dating of associated native fibulae.
2. The spread of MG and LGI Corinthian pottery items in native burials, for instance in the *Sibaritide*, does not necessarily indicate Corinthian or Greek trade. The discoveries at Otranto and Sant'Imbenia of large amounts of this pottery in native trading posts may well mean that indigenous aristocrats traded also these pottery items among themselves.
3. It has been established that Phoenicians played an important role in the development of trading and

settlement in the western Mediterranean. It could be established that Euboians in the late 8th and early 7th c. BC traded Corinthian pottery; it is therefore likely that Phoenicians also bought and traded Corinthian and other 'foreign' Greek material - the SOS amphorae of the late 8th c. BC seem a case in point. It is commonplace that the pre-colonial Greeks in the West were attracted by mineral resources; the rulers of Tyre perhaps even more so. The Phoenician red wares inspired the natives of Italy into the production of red slip wares (*impasto rosso*), which is widespread in Etruria, Lazio and some parts of Southern Italy. The character of the contacts between natives and Phoenicians is not yet well studied.

Because of this new evidence, the question of trade versus settler colonisation has been updated and revised. D'Agostino (D'Agostino/Soteriou 1998, 427-28) recently developed the clearest model.

- A. Early 8th century trade routes from Greece towards the West were Corinthian enterprises which involved northern Greece, the Western Greek islands and Italy's east coast, and evidently the Iapygians. This route is seen as one exploited by private Corinthian ships with what D'Agostino calls 'weak' economic interests.
- B. Contemporary trade routes were mostly exploited by Euboians, who focused on the larger Villanovan proto-urban settlements along Italy's west coast, like Veii and Pontecagnano, and the western islands, especially Sicily. This trade system probably was an extension of earlier 9th c. BC contacts, and brought the Villanovan elite the desired life-style and the attributes that went with it.
- C. The above trading resulted in the settlements at Ischia and in a fundamental change around the middle of the 8th c. BC within the contexts of the Etruscan and Tyrrhenian orientalising cultures. Euboian and Corinthian cups were now produced in local workshops, while the development of Pithekoussai during LGI and II resulted likewise in local imitations of Aetos 666 cups and Thapsos cups with and without panels.
- D. The export of the products of pottery workshops at Corinth itself overtook all other pottery exports at Pithekoussai during the LGII/Early Proto-Corinthian period, a phenomenon, which only grew in strength during the 7th c. BC. This phase, labelled LGII on Ischia, is characterised by 20% Corinthian imports with *aryballoi*, *oinochoai*, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi* and *kotylai* at S. Montano. The cups called 'Thapsos without panel', considered to be manufactured at Corinth too although scarcely represented in the local finds, are for the most part contemporary with the first Protocorinthian *aryballoi* and *fibulae* dated to Villanova IIIA.

Clearly d'Agostino reasons from a Greek viewpoint, since the trade routes he discusses will have been connected with native expansion far more than his model allows for. Still, his chronological list of activities is useful to gauge the situation in the *Sibaritide* from. In the *Sibaritide*, even the material for situation D above is largely absent (see tables 1-4) and the new facts do not make it easy to see what role it can have played in early trade or colonisation politics. Perhaps the spread of a few early cups in indigenous tombs was a spin-off from the Iapygian trading post at Otranto (D'Andria 1995, 457-549; Lippolis 1995, 514). One important implication would be that the dispersal of such cups has nothing to do with Euboian or Corinthian trade in the *Sibaritide*, but would indicate traffic of goods between the Iapygians at Otranto and the Oenotrians in the *Sibaritide*.

Interestingly, the already mentioned 'Greek' features at Metapontion and Siris-Herakleia do not include any Thapsos cups or Protocorinthian globular *aryballoi* either, nor are tall *kotylai* a highly favoured item (see table 5). The earliest items are two fragments of tall *kotylai*, one with soldier birds the other with sigma's, and ovoid *aryballoi* and conical *lekythoi* and the rest of the material dates to the Middle Protocorinthian period. In other words, in the coastal plain of Siris/Polieion, and Metapontion and Sybaris and their hinterlands, there is convincing evidence of a mixed population at least well into the 7th c. BC. The *floruit* of 'Greek' Incoronata takes place after the period in which Thapsos cups, globular *aryballoi* and tall *kotylai* with floating sigma's were popular. In fact one such *kotyle* is associated with a native dump or storage area (INCORONATA II, fig. 46). The same situation is recognisable along the entire Ionian coast, and strongly contrast with the Tyrrhenian coastal situation and the Ionian coastal situation in Puglia, where early Greek imports were abundant at Otranto and elsewhere.

It seems to me that the presence of strong native groups in the *Metapontino*, *Siritide*, *Sibaritide*, and *Crotonide* in the 9th and 8th c. BC precluded the speedy development of early Achaian settlement colonisation. It was only during the first half of the 7th c. BC that the natives in the coastal and sub-coastal settlements began to associate themselves with groups of Greek traders. The evidence gained so far at Sibari and Crotone makes it likely that settlement here was not very different from that at Siris/Polieion and Incoronata/Metapontion, i.e. it may have consisted first of clusters of huts with dug out storage facilities and later of clusters of cabins. From the presence of potsherds of Thapsos and sub-Thapsos cups at Crotone, Sibari and Francavilla Marittima we may perhaps infer hellenising influ-

ences half a century or a quarter century earlier than in the *Metapontino* and *Siritide*. Still the natives, and especially the coastal elite chiefs among them, must have played an important part in these early settlements at the sites of the later Greek colonies along the coast. Greek colonisation in the centres of the large plains along the Ionian coast initially will mostly have been gradual. While the power of the natives weakened (probably because they were not able to unite) the power of the Greeks grew, until during the last half of the 7th c. BC the Greek settlers were powerful enough to reorganise and restructure the sites, and to marginalise the natives more. The evidence at Sibari and Crotone is too scanty to support a hypothesis of early, strong Achaian colonies; it is only from the middle of the 7th c. BC, during the final phase of the Middle Protocorinthian and the phase of the Late Protocorinthian pottery, that Sibarite power and spread is recognisable (tables 1-5), as at Crotone.

A question that must be kept for a future paper is whether this updating of the Greek colonisation activities would not in fact coincide better with the radiocarbon dates for this period in the Mediterranean. It is by now certain that the imported pottery should be dated and if this would be by half or a quarter century, the ancient literary sources on the colony dates could still be correct. A case in point are the carbon dates from the Temple precinct on the Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima and the tombs at Macchiabate, some 8 km to the north of Sibari.

5 SHORT DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE AT FRANCAVILLA MARITTIMA (Fig. 6)

From votive deposit I of the temple precinct on top of the Timpone della Motta quite a few Thapsos fragments are known to have been excavated by M. W. Stoop in the period 1963-'69 (Guzzo 1982, fig. 11; Dehl 1984, nos. 7-11). Many more Thapsos and sub-Thapsos fragments, and even a complete cup, recently surfaced in the enormous quantity of material from this almost completely plundered votive deposit (over 5000 objects including complete vessels, bronzes, potsherds, as well as terracotta pinakes and statuettes). Formerly in the collection of the Bern Archaeological Institute (Raselli Nydegger 2000), the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (e.g. Johansen 1994, nrs. 34-37, 68-123), and the J.P. Getty Museum (Mertens Horn 1992 - only knowing shortly after publication where the material stemmed from and telling me instantly: Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 1-47). The material has recently been restituted to Italy and has been housed in the *Museo Archeologico*

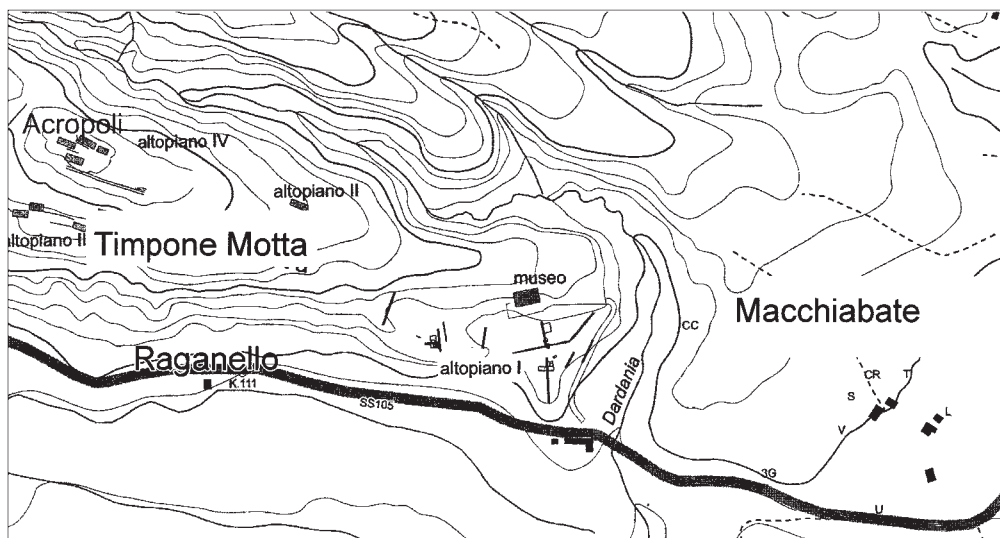


Fig. 6. Map of the excavated areas at Francavilla Marittima.

della Sibaritide. Fortunately Stoop's notes make clear that the Thapsos fragments as well as the *kyathos*-with-chevrons fragment (Dehl 1984, 206) have the same provenance as the LG vessels and the robbed sherds: they stem from the floor of *Edificio V* as well as from votive deposit I. Unfortunately, it cannot be established whether the Stoop's early imported sherds stem from the native long house or from the first temple, because the sherds were found immediately on the conglomerate rock, which was in use in both phases. To put the problem in context, a description of the successive construction phases of *Edificio V* of the sanctuary on the Acropolis of Francavilla Marittima is necessary. The floor in the *Edificio V* area consists of natural conglomerate, which was levelled and used first by native aristocratic families. Several subsequent construction phases could be reconstructed from floors, postholes and related finds. The first hut dates to the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age and was not associated with any Iron Age sherds. The subsequent constructions date from the early Iron Age and are evidence of the complex relations between Greeks and Oenotrians, as outlined below.

Phase I

The first Iron Age feature is a large apsidal wooden house with a hearth/altar where bronze objects were found (*Fig. 7*). The hearth/altar is also associated with a layer of ash (2 m. thick in places, and spread over an area of 6 x 15 m.) which contained many unburned matt-painted pottery sherds and bones. Contemporary standing looms with large loom weights decorated with labyrinth motifs, found *in situ*, are also closely associated with activities in this aristocratic dwelling on the top of the Timpone della Motta (Kleibrink/Sanginetto 1998, 1-61; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 1-47; Maaskant Kleibrink 2000a, 407-410; Maaskant Kleibrink 2000b, 165-185). This apsidal wooden house dating from the second half of the 9th and the 8th c. BC (in traditional dating) is largely native in context, but the copper alloy Laconian birds and the four-spiral ring found among the objects near the hearth/altar have their best parallels in Olympia, and demonstrate overseas contacts (Maaskant Kleibrink 2000b, 165-185). The looms associated with this house indicate special weaving activities. The intricate and time-consuming decoration of the loom weights with meander and labyrinthine patterns, as well as their disposition and heavy weight (over 800 gr), indicate pattern weaving. Fortunately finds of similar weights in the Macchiabate tombs of aristocratic ladies give the weavers of patterned cloth an identity. Thus we know that aristocratic Oenotrian women at Francavilla Marittima were involved in special weaving activities taking place

in a large wooden house on the top of the Timpone della Motta during the 8th c. BC (traditional date). However, the calibrated radiocarbon date for the stratum with the loom weights is circa 850 BC. The hearth/altar, in a separate room or courtyard, was honoured with bronze jewellery.

In the 8th c. BC the aristocratic house with the looms on the top of the Timpone della Motta was accompanied by at least one other similarly oriented monumental house. It was discovered underneath the large *edificio I* by M. W. Stoop in the 1960s, but not recognised as such at the time (Stoop 1983, 16-52). It may have consisted of two separate sections (Mertens & Schläger 1982). In the native period these large and centrally located aristocratic houses were accompanied by smaller huts built around the edge of the top plateau. One large round hut was recently found on the ridge south of *edificio V*, and a long rectangular hut existed to the east of it.

In view of the disposition of the finds, and in view of what happened in phases II and III of this sanctuary (see below), a reduction of the early history of the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta into the usual 'frontier sanctuary' story seems to me unwarranted (de la Genière 2000, 357-371; G. Greco 1999, 238f.). In the case of the Italian/Dutch excavations on the Timpone della Motta we can grasp, for the first time, a good deal of the early history of a later colonial sanctuary, and the new evidence merits discussion, not outright rejection.

Phase II

For this phase, the period around 700 BC, three sacred buildings have been discovered so far: *edificio III* in the centre, flanked by *edificio I* to the north and the recently discovered *edificio V* to the south. All three were constructed in the native technique with the help of huge holes (60/50 cm in diameter and 60/70 cm deep) cut in the natural conglomerate to accommodate sturdy posts. The larger buildings had a double row of these, fixed with oblique smaller posts or flat river cobbles.

The newly discovered building V makes clear that the apsidal wooden house was levelled during the last quarter of the 8th c. BC (traditional dating), and a 26 m. long temple was built on the same spot (*Fig. 7*). The evidence for the construction of temple V around 700 BC stems from a row of post holes in the East, perpendicular to long North and South walls. The wall constructed with the posts in these holes must have been the Eastern wall of a porch which cancelled the former apse. The holes have been cut through the dark fill of the apsidal long house, a fill dating up to the end of the 8th c. BC (traditional date). The row of post holes were covered with the yellow floor of the colonial period temple building V.

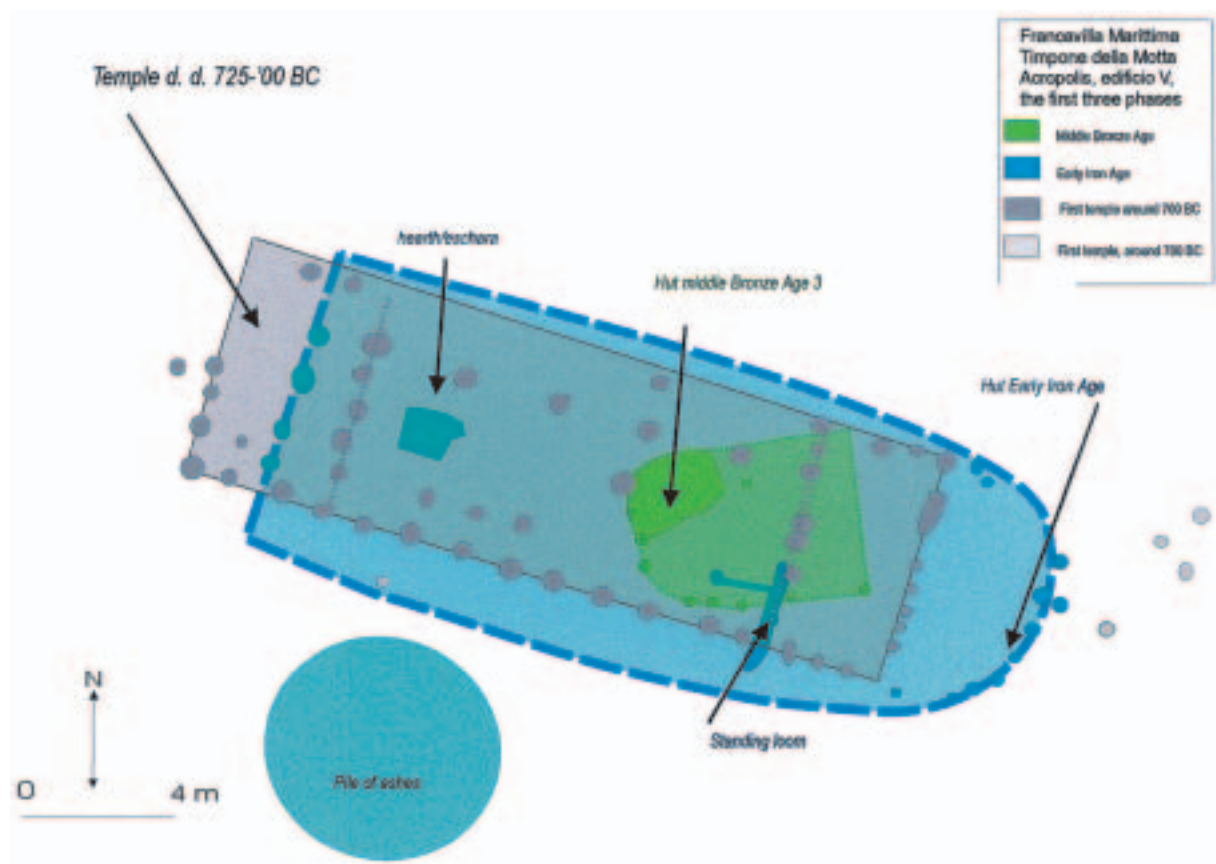


Fig. 7. Plan of the construction phases of Building V, Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima.

Interestingly, Building III and I demonstrate similar East walls constructed with the help of small post holes.

Also the date of construction of this second building can be deduced from objects found in brownish loose soil deep in the post-holes: fibulae with long catchholders, an ivory figure-of-eight fibula, and pots decorated in the 'elegant fringe' style, datable by its similarity to the *askos* from a child's tomb with the seal of Pharaoh Bocchoris (Maaskant Kleibrink 2000b, 165-185). The hearth/altar of the former house may still have been in function but the looms were flattened and buried underneath a red-dish clay stratum. Besides the finds from the post-holes, the evidence for this phase consists of pockets of brownish loose soil in the conglomerate with small sherds of imported cups and an occasional scarab in them. Orate *impasto* spindles and ditto beads, also of glass, as well as *impasto* sherds and potsherds of locally produced vessels were found in these pockets too.

Of especial interest among the finds associated with *edificio V* is a sherd decorated with a lady carrying a pot and holding hands with a nude warrior (Fig. 8, 1). The sherd is very similar in style to that of a *pyxis* among the objects stolen from votive deposit I (and now in the collection of a dentist in Ticino, Switzerland; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, fig. 10), decorated with a procession of ladies, the first one holding a jug used to pour a drink to an enthroned goddess (Fig. 8, 2). These decorations, painted by a local vase-painter shortly before 700 BC, depict a cult act taking place in one of the three temples on the Timpone della Motta, since thousands of *hydriskai* and small cups were found in the sanctuary. The deity venerated on the Timpone della Motta almost certainly had several different identities, one of which required this drinking ceremony; another was associated with weaving and a third perhaps with flowers. As the drinking ceremony involves *hydriskai*, which in the Greek world were associated with water, one would like to think that the ritual on

the Timpone della Motta (where no water is available) involved people ascending the hill with water in order to quench the thirst of a 'Lady of the loom', to reward her for her weaving and her protection. In an earlier article I explained why this Lady might have been called Eilenia (Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 1-41).

Phase III

The third construction phase of *edificio V* is a Greek temple, which arose sometime before the middle of the 7th c. BC. The posts from the previous building were pulled out and the holes filled with a distinct yellow soil with a high lime content; the floor was also covered with it. During excavation the objects connected with this IIIrd phase were easily identifiable because surrounded by this yellow matrix. For this

new temple foundation trenches were cut into the conglomerate bedrock (*Fig. 9*). The building was constructed on a foundation of double rows of river cobbles with walls of mudbrick. The bulk of the material found during the recent excavation, as well as that robbed from the hill in the 1970s, stems from this mid 7th c./mid 6th c. BC phase. The character of the finds identifies this phase as truly colonial. To this period belong the *pinakes* which form a procession frieze (Mertens Horn 1992, 15f.; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 33f.) as well as an interesting small *pinax* with an enthroned 'Lady of the loom', holding a mantle rolled up in her lap (Mertens Horn 1992; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, figs. 6, 11b). These objects, as well as the many spindles and *kalathiskoi* found in the sanctuary indicate that the goddess still protected weavers. Terracotta statuettes produced at the sanctuary in a later period, still show dedicants holding freshly woven pieces of cloth (Raselli Nydegger 2000 - here *Fig. 10*). A beautiful example of the pattern weaving practised in the sanctuary is seen on the terracotta *pinax* called the 'Dame of Sybaris' (Croissant 1993, 544; she clearly represents the Lady venerated at Francavilla Marittima, Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 12). Although not visible on the *pinakes*, the ladies in the procession almost certainly still carried *hydriskai* with water to the goddess on the Timpone della Motta, because the bulk of the enormous quantity of *hydriskai*, decorated with a simple bands, are dated in the 7th c. BC. Before disposing



Fig. 8, 1.

Fig. 8, 1/2. Drawings of the decorations on pottery found in the area of Building V, phase 2, representing a procession of Ladies and Warriors, carrying a drink to the enthroned Goddess of the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta.



Fig. 8, 2.

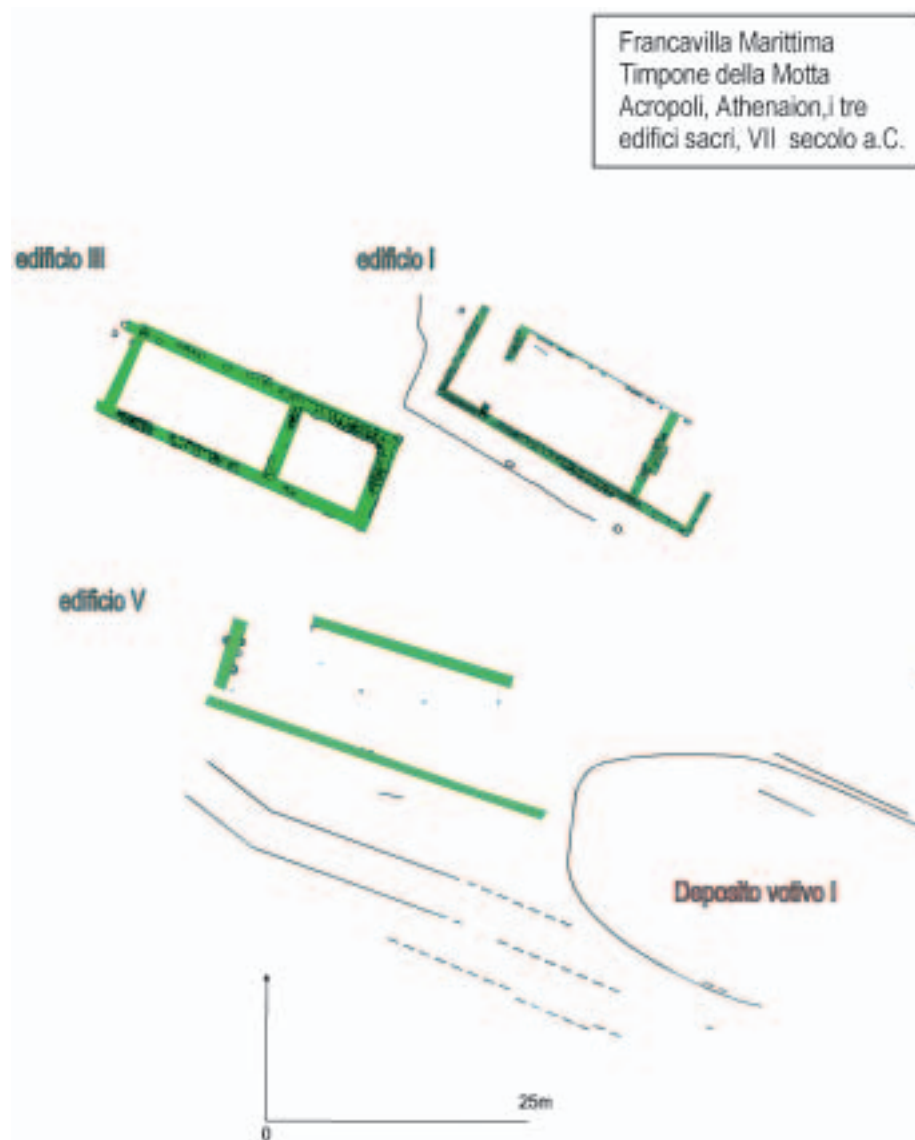


Fig. 9. Plan of the main Buildings in the 7th c. BC sanctuary on the top of the Timpone della Motta.

of their empty vessels in and against the buildings, the dedicants may have quenched their own thirst too, since the climb up the circa 300 m. high hill is rather steep. As *hydriskai* were hardly present among the objects in votive deposit I we can safely infer that the bulk of them was not buried but simply left about, or piled up against the walls of the sacred buildings. However, the drinking cups, *aryballoi*, *alabastra*, *pyxides*, etc. were left inside the building, and were only removed when it was decided to construct yet another new temple on the same spot.

Phase IV

The IIIrd phase of *Edificio V* was later covered over with a huge amount of gravel, certainly a platform for a new temple, of the 6th c. BC. Although nothing remains of this phase IV building because a Byzantine chapel was built on the same spot, 6th c. BC roof tiles and votive objects buried in the gravel attest to its existence. Moreover, a 6th c. BC construction phase is indicated by the small temple *edificio II*, as well as by *edificio IV* and the terracotta architectural decorations found sporadically on the hilltop.



Fig. 10. Terracotta statues of Ladies holding pieces of cloth, first quarter of the 6th century BC, National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide.



Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the woman buried in Tomb 8, Temparella, Macchiabate, Francavilla Marittima, dating from the early 7th c. BC.

In view of the evidence from Sibari, Francavilla Marittima and elsewhere in the *Sibaritide*, the absence of Early Protocorinthian material among the abundant finds from the Timpone della Motta is interesting (table 5). The absence of globular *aryballoi* and the scarcity of early tall *kotylai* is especially noteworthy; the Protocorinthian material from *edificio* V (phase III) for the most part consists of *hydriskai* with banded decoration and small drinking vessels, as well as concave *pyxides* and *lekythoi*. The material is for the larger part decorated in the so-called sub-Geometric style which usually is dated to the later phase of the Middle Protocorinthian period. The vessels from the Timpone della Motta published in the catalogue of the Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek are a fine example of the types commonly associated with this phase of *edificio* V (Johansen 1994, cat. nos. 68-121). The conical *lekythoi* 68-72 are dated, slightly too early, to the period 700-650 BC but are correctly classified as sub-Geometric. These specimens, comparable to the material from votive deposit I and *edificio* V on the Timpone della Motta, usually have narrow and low necks, while the pointed star on the shoulder is sloppily executed in dilute paint. In my view these are arguments to place them near the Middle Protocorinthian, in the period 660/650 BC. Early speci-

mens are referred to by Dehl (1984): two tall *kotylai* with soldier birds and two *kotyle* fragments with completely black gloss, one black specimen decorated with a light hour glass motif, the other with a light rosette (table 5).

In view of these data it seems there is a chronological hiatus between *edificio* V phases II and III, occurring in the first half of the 7th c. BC. This hiatus occurs between the temples erected in collaboration with the native elite as a replacement of their own cults, and the truly Achaian 'frontier sanctuary', which was built just before the middle of the 7th c. BC. The gap in my view indicates the period of transition and represents the true period of colonisation. It is probably the period in which the Achaians began to dominate the natives, and in which they almost certainly used their military power. However, the colonial temple was built to the same proportions as its forerunners, and evidently had to be traditional enough to be recognised by the native population. The finds at the Macchiabate necropolis show that native families remained in the village nearby.

The first native 'tumuli' burials of Cerchio Reale and Temparella, excavated by Paola Zancani Montuoro (Zancani Montuoro 1976, 1979, 1982, 1984) in the Macchiabate necropolis at the foot of the Timpone della Motta, are contemporary with the aristocratic wooden houses on its top. The burials belong to an extended family of which one branch, during the middle of the 8th c. BC, developed to aristocratic levels. The women in T60 and T63 for example were laid to rest with a high status burial, while the woman buried in Temparella tomb 8 must have been one of the last aristocratic descendants of this family (Fig. 11). Contrary to earlier and contemporary graves the pottery gifts received by the latter are exclusively Greek: a large SOS-amphora, a *pyxis* dated in the transitional phase from LGII to early Protocorinthian, and a *kotyle* probably entirely covered with black gloss. But she was buried in the native way in a 'tumulus' constructed of river cobbles, and the disposition of the objects in her grave is also according to the traditional customs. However, the bulk of the 7th c. BC tombs are simple *a fossa* burials with very few gifts, constructed in, or in between, the earlier 8th c. BC graves. Because the 7th c. BC burials are underneath the more elaborate 6th c. BC tombs it is not known how the elaborate native burial system developed into the simple *a fossa* system. But various interesting features, including a late 'tumulus' (T72) and a late *Hocker* burial (T73) and also the gift of a drinking set to a disturbed grave (T23a and b), demonstrate that the Temparella burials still belong to members of the same native extended family as those buried there during the 8th c. BC. In other words, they show that native existence at

Francavilla Marittima continued even though colonial temples existed nearby. The analysis of the Macchiabate burial system shows that during the first part of the 7th c. BC, as in the temple complex, there was little activity.

The significance of the Thapsos material is now clear. When dated to the first decades of the 7th c. BC, it is virtually the only material extant to 'prove' early Greek colonial activities in the *Sibaritide*. When dated to the final decades of the 8th c. BC, it confirms the activities of Greek or Phoenician traders, with the affluent indigenous families. The tomb contents at Amendolara remain very traditionally native throughout the 7th c. BC. That Sybarite Greeks, on their way to found Metapontion, were involved in subjecting this area (De la Genière 1978, 335-354; Guzzo 1982a, 146-151, 1982b, 237-250) does not follow from these tombs. The tradition of the gift of only a single Greek cup is maintained well into the second half of the 7th c. BC, even in a rich female grave in which a silver ornament was found which is otherwise only known to be given in Villanovan high status tombs.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The picture of the foundation of Sybaris in the period of the Thapsos cups depends on the interpretation of such finds elsewhere. At Francavilla Marittima evidence for hut compounds does indeed disappear after the period Thapsos cups were imported; at Mordillo stratum 8 underneath Hellenistic levels a native hut of the 8th c. BC, destroyed by fire, could be reconstructed (Arancio et al. 1995, 227-241). In view of the recent discoveries at Siris/Polieion and Metapontion the disappearance of hut features in the first decades of the 7th c. BC may also indicate a restructuring of the native society. The Macchiabate burials at Francavilla Marittima as well as the Uomo Morto burials at Amendolara make clear that native families continued to live in the *Sibaritide* also after 700 BC; on the acropolis of the Timponella della Motta they even helped to construct a sanctuary with three large temples.

For now, we may conclude that the interaction of Greeks and natives during the early period varied according to region and according to the strength and organisation of the natives (compare Morel 1984). At present it seems likely that Achaian power only became omnipresent in the *Sibaritide*, as in the *Metapontino* and *Siritide*, after the middle of the 7th c. BC. Before that time the interaction of natives and Greeks must have been of a different, more friendly, character. At Francavilla Marittima *edificio* V, erected on the Timponella della Motta around 700 BC, clearly honours traditions of an earlier native origin. The evidence at

Sibari, where a trench with a mixture of native, imported and locally produced wares are found together with charcoal and bones, makes it possible that huts with deepened pottery storage rooms were extant on the ridge of coastal dunes running from Stombi in the north to the *Parco del Cavallo*. If the excavators of Sibari are justified in interpreting the now empty wall trenches as traces of 7th c. BC housing, then it should be checked whether these are likely to have been cabins. The situation at Francavilla Marittima, though of a ritual nature, recalls the reorganisation of the native hut compounds at Incoronata into hellenised clusters of cabins during the 7th c. BC. At Francavilla, a large apsidal, native, wooden house with a special weaving area and a hearth cult, was rebuilt into a hellenised rectangular temple, with a cella and two porches. The native cult changed into the veneration of a goddess with many aspects, she may have been perceived mainly as the 'Lady of the loom'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ampolo, C. 1993, La città dell'eccesso: per la storia di Sibari fino a 510 a.C., in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992*, Taranto, 213-254.
- APARCHAI 1982: Various authors, *APARCHAI, Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di Paolo Arias*, I-III, Pisa.
- Arancio, M.L. et al. 1995, L'abitato di Torre Mordillo, in: *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC -1500 AD Papers of the 5th Conference of Italian Archaeology*, 227-241.
- Arias, P.E. 1941, Problemi della scultura arcaica italiota, *La Critica d'Arte*, n.s. 1, 49-56.
- Bianco, S. 1996, Siris-Herakleia: il territorio, la chora, in: B. Otto (ed.) *Herakleia in Lukanian und das Quellheiligtum der Demeter*, Innsbruck, 15-23.
- Boardman, J. 1990, The Lyre-player group of seals; an encore, *AA* 1-17.
- Brown, D.F. 1960, In Search of Sybaris, *AJA* 58, 144.
- Brown, D.F. 1963, In Search of Sybaris, *Expedition* 5, 40-47.
- Bullitt, O.H. 1971, *Die Suche nach Sybaris*, Stuttgart (translation of Search for Sybaris).
- Cavallari, F.S. 1879, Sibari, *NSc* 1879, 49-52, 77-87, 122-124, 156-59, 245-53.
- Céramique 1982: *La Céramique grécque ou de tradition grécque au VIII siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale, Cahiers du centre Jean Bérard*, III, Naples.
- Colburn, A.C. 1967, A Habitation Area of Thurii, *Expedition* 9, 30-38.
- Colburn, A.C. 1973, *The Quest for Thurii, 1963-1967*, Diss. Un. of Pennsylvania.
- Colburn, A.C. 1977, Torre Mordillo (Cosenza). scavi negli anni 1963, 1966 e 1967, *NSc* 1977, 423-526.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1982, Some problems of eighth-century pottery in the West, seen from the Greek angle, in: *Céramique*, 21-37.

- Coldstream, J.N. 1994, Prospectors and Pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyme and Central Italy, in: G. R. Tsitsikhladze/F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation, Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford, 47-61.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1995, Euboean Imports from Pithekoussai, *BSA* 90, 251-267.
- Cotecchia, V. 1993, Incidenze geologiche e geotecniche su Sibari e la Sibaritide, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide. Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992*, Taranto, 21-49.
- Crielaard J. P. 1996, *The Euboeans Overseas, Long-distance Contacts and Colonization as Status Activities in Early Iron Age Greece*, diss. Amsterdam.
- Croissant, F. 1993, Sybaris: La production artistique, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide. Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992*, Taranto, 540-559.
- D'Agostino, Soteriou 1998, Campania in the framework of the earliest Greek colonisation in the West 1998, in: *Euboica, L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli, 13-16 Novembre 1996*, Napoli, 427-428.
- D'Andria, F. 1985, Documenti del commercio arcaico tra Ionico e Adriatico, Magna Grecia, Epiro e Macedonia, in: *Atti 24o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1984*, Napoli, 321-377.
- D'Andria, F. 1995, Corinto e l'Occidente: la costa adriatica, in: *Atti del 34o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1994*, Napoli, 457-549.
- De Caro, S. 1994, Appunti per la topografia della chora di Pithekoussai, in *ΑΡΧΑΙΑ*, 39ff.
- Dehl, C. 1984, *Die korinthische Keramik des 8. und frühen 7. Jhs. v. Chr. in Italien, Untersuchungen zu ihrer Chronologie und Ausbreitung*, Berlin.
- De la Genière, J. 1978, C'è un modello Amendolara?, *ASNP* s. III, VIII, 2, 335-354.
- De la Genière, J. 2000, Elementi orientali nei santuari della Magna Grecia, in: *Magna Grecia e Oriente mediterraneo prima dell'età ellenistica, Atti del 39o convegno sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1-5 Ottobre 1999*, Napoli, 357-371.
- De la Genière, J./A. Nickels 1975, Amendolara (Cosenza)-Scavi 1969-1973 a S.Nicola, *NSc* 29, 483-498.
- De Polignac, F. 1984, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris.
- De Polignac, F. 1995, *Cults, Territory and the Origin of the Greek City-state*, Chicago/London.
- De Polignac, F. 1999, L'installation des dieux et la genèse des cités en Grèce d'Occident, une question résolue? Retour à Megara Hyblaea, in: *La colonisation grecque en méditerranée occidentale, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet organisée par le centre Jean-Bérard, l'Ecole française de Rome, L'Istituto universitario orientale et l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II", Rome-Naples, 15-18 novembre 1995*, Rome, 209-230.
- De Siena, A. 1986a, Scavi in località Incoronata ed a Metaponto: nuove scoperte, in: *I Greci sul Basento*, 199-212.
- De Siena, A. 1986b, Metaponto. Nuove scoperte in proprietà Andrisani, in: *Siris-Polieion*, 135-156.
- De Siena, A. 1996, Metapontino: strutture abitative e organizzazione territoriale prima della fondazione delle colonie achee, in: F. d'Andria/K. Manno (eds.), *Ricerche sulla Casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia, Atti del Colloquio, Lecce, 23-24 Giugno*, Galatina, 161-195.
- Edwards, G. R. 1969, Torre Mordillo 1967, *Expedition* 11, 30-35.
- Galli, E. 1929-1930, Alla Ricerca di Sibari, *ASMG* 1929 [= Rome 1930], 7-128, 151-54, 200-203.
- Galli, E. 1932, Reggio. Una scultura di Sibari achea ed una terracotta di Thurii, *NSc* 1932, 130-136.
- Giardino, L. 1998, Herakleia (Policoro), contesti e materiali arcaici dal settore occidentale dell' 'collina del Castello', in: *Siritide e Metapontino, Storie di due territori coloniali, Atti dell'incontro di studio, Policoro 31 Ottobre-2 Novembre 1991, Naples/Paestum*, 105-122.
- GsB. = *Greci sul Basento* 1986: Various authors, *Greci sul Basento, Mostra degli scavi archeologici all'Incoronata di Metaponto 1971-1984*, Como.
- Greco, E. 1990, Serdaioi, *AION Archeologia e storia antica* 12, 1-19.
- Greco, E. 1993, L'impero di Sibari. Bilancio archeologico-topografico, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992*, Taranto, 460-484.
- Greco, E. 1999, Siculi ed Enotri: tra analogie e differenze, in: *La colonisation grecque en méditerranée occidentale, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet organisée par le centre Jean-Bérard, l'Ecole française de Rome, L'Istituto universitario orientale et l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II", Rome-Naples, 15-18 novembre 1995*, Rome, 281-292.
- Greco, E. 2000, Dalla Ionia alla Magna Grecia: Ippodamo di Milete tra utopia e prassi, in: *Magna Grecia e Oriente mediterraneo prima dell'età ellenistica, Atti del 39o convegno sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1-5 Ottobre 1999*, Napoli, 575-583.
- Greco, E./M. Torelli 1983, *Storia dell'urbanistica, Il mondo greco*, Roma-Bari 1983.
- Greco, G. 1999, Santuari extraurbani tra periferia cittadina e periferia indigena, in: *La colonisation grecque en méditerranée occidentale, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet organisée par le centre Jean-Bérard, l'Ecole française de Rome, L'Istituto universitario orientale et l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II", Rome-Naples, 15-18 novembre 1995*, Rome, 231-247.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1970, Sulla localizzazione di Sibari, Thurii e Copia, *SIBARI II, Nsc* 1970, suppl. III, 15-23.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1982a, Modificazioni dell'ambiente e della cultura tra VIII e VII secolo sulla costa ionica d'Italia, *DialA* n.s. 2, 146-151.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1982b, La Sibaritide e Sibari nell'VIII e VII sec. a.C., Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell'VIII e VII sec. a. C., *ASAtene, n.s. XLIII-XLIV, 1981-82*, 237-250.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1982c, Sibari e la Sibaritide. Materiali per un bilancio della conoscenza archeologica, *RA* 3-36.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1982d, Ipotesi interpretativa su due tipi di fibula con arco ricoperto, in: *APARCHAI*, 60-61.

- Guzzo, P.G. 1984, Archeologia e territorio nella Sibaritide. Una storia della ricerca e una linea di lavoro, in: *Studi di antichità in onore di G.Maetzke*, Roma, 309-315.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1987, Schema per la categoria interpretativa del 'santuario di frontiera', *ScAnt* 1, 373-379.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1989, Ipotesi sulla forma archeologica di Siris, in: *Studi su Siris-Herakleia*, Archeologia Perusina 8, Roma.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1993a, Sibari. Materiali per un bilancio archeologico, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide*, Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992, Taranto, 51-82.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1993b, *Oreficerie dalla Magna Grecia. Ornamenti in oro e argento dall'Italia Meridionale tra l'VIII ed il I secolo*, Taranto.
- Guzzo, P.G. 1996, Case a Sibari, in: F. d'Andria/K. Manno (eds.), *Ricerche sulla Casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia*, Atti del Colloquio, Lecce, 23-24 Giugno, Galatina, 123-126.
- INCORONATA I 1991: *Le fosse di scarico del saggio P. Materiali e problematiche. Ricerche archeologiche all'Incoronata di Metaponto, scavi dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano.
- INCORONATA II 1992: *Dal villaggio indigeno all'emporio Greco. Le strutture e i materiali del saggio T. Ricerche archeologiche all'Incoronata di Metaponto, scavi dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano.
- Johansen, F. 1994, *Catalogue, Greece in the Archaic Period*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen.
- Kahrstedt, U. 1931, Die Lage von Sybaris, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist.Kl.*, 279-288.
- Kahrstedt, U. 1932a, Studi topografici sull'antica Sibari, *Atti Ac. Arch. Lett.BBAA di Napoli*, n.s. 12, Part II, 1-9.
- Kahrstedt, U. 1932b, *NSc* 1932, 130-136.
- Kahrstedt, U. 1960a, Sibari, Thurii e il periplo di Scilace, *Klearchos* II, 61-64.
- Kahrstedt, U. 1960b, *Die wirtschaftliche Lage Grossgriechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (= *Historia, Einzelschriften*), Wiesbaden.
- Kearsley, R. A. 1989, *The Pendent Semi-Circle Skyphos* (= *BICS Suppl.* 44), London.
- Kearsley, R.A. 1999, Greeks Overseas in the 8th century B.C., in: G.R. Tsatsikis (ed.), *Euboeans, Al Mina and Assyrian Imperialism, Ancient Greeks West and East*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 108-134.
- Kleibrink see also Maaskant Kleibrink.
- Kleibrink, M./M. Sangineto, Enotri a Timpone Motta (1), la ceramica geometrica dallo strato di cenere e materiale relativo dell'edificio V, Francavilla Marittima, *BABesch* 68, 1-61.
- Kleibrink, M. forthcoming, *Oenotrians and Greeks on the Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima (near Sybaris, Calabria)*.
- La Torre, G. F. 1993, La 'Sibaritide Tyrrhenica' in età arcaica, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide*, Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992, Taranto, 179-202.
- Lerici, C. M. 1960, Prima esplorazione geofisica nella zona archeologica di Sibari 20 Marzo-15 Aprile 1960, in: *Alla scoperta delle civiltà sepolte*, Milano, 303-337.
- Lippolis, E. 1995, Corinto e l'Occidente: la costa del mar Ionio, in: *Atti del 34o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1994*, Napoli, 509-550.
- Maaskant Kleibrink, M. 1993, Religious activities on the 'Timpone della Motta', Francavilla Marittima - and the identification of Lagaria, *BABesch* 68, 1-47.
- Maaskant Kleibrink, M. 2000a, Reply to Juliette de la Genière, in: *Magna Grecia e Oriente mediterraneo prima dell'età ellenistica*, Atti del 39o convegno sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1-5 Ottobre 1999, Napoli, 407-410.
- Maaskant Kleibrink, M. 2000b, Early cults in the Athenaion at Francavilla Marittima as evidence for a pre-colonial circulation of nostoi stories, in: *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer, Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr., Akten des Symposions Wien 24 bis 27 März*, Wien, 165-185.
- Maruggi, G.A. 1996, Crispiano (Taranto), L'Amastuola, in: F. d'Andria/K. Manno (ed.), *Ricerche sulla Casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia*, Atti del Colloquio, Lecce, 23-24 Giugno, Galatina, 197-218.
- Mertens, D. 1993, Note preliminari sull'architettura arcaica di Sibari, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide*, Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992, Taranto, 567-569.
- Mertens, D./H. Schläger 1982, Acropoli sulla Motta, *ASMG* 21-23, 141-171.
- Mertens-Horn, M. 1992, Die archaische Baufriese aus Metapont, *Jdl* 99, 1-122.
- Morel, J.P. 1984, Greek colonization in Italy and the West. Problems of evidence and interpretation, in: T. Hackens/R. Ross Holloway (eds.), *Crossroads of the Mediterranean*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 123-162.
- Morton, H.V. 1969, *A traveller in Southern Italy*, London.
- Orlandini, P. 1982, Scavi e scoperte di VIII e VII sec. A. C. in località Incononata tra Siris e Metaponto, Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell'VIII e VII sec. A. C., *ASAtene*, n.s. 43-44, 1981-82, 315-327.
- Orlandini, P. 1986a, Incononata - Scavi dell'Università statale di Milano (1974-1984), in: *I Greci sul Basento*, 29-39.
- Orlandini, P. 1986b, Fase precoloniale nella Basilicata ed il problema dell'Incononata, in: *Siris-Polieion*, 49-54.
- Orlandini, P. 1991, Lo scavo e il problema delle fosse di scarico dei due insediamenti, in: *Ricerche archeologiche all'Incononata di Metaponto, 1. Le fosse di scarico del saggio P. Materiali e problematiche*, Milano, 19-24.
- Orlandini, P. 1998, Scavi e scoperte all'Incononata di Metaponto, in: *Siritide e Metapontino, Storie di due Comuni coloniali*, Atti dell'incontro di studio, Policoro 31 Ottobre-2 Novembre 1991, Naples/Paestum, 91-94.
- Osanna, M. 1992, *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri, Documentazione archeologica e ricostruzione storica*, Rome.
- Otto, B. 2000, Das archaische Quell-Heiligtum im heutigen Policoro am Golf von Tarent, in: *Die Agaeis und das westliche Mittelmeer, Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen 8. bis 5. Jh. V. Chr., Akten des Symposiums Wien 24 bis 27 März*, Vienna, 193-197.

- Paoletti, M. 1993, Copia e il suo territorio in età romana: problemi di storia urbana, in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti 32o convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1992*, Taranto, 379-430.
- Pasqui, A. 1888, Territorio di Sibari. Scavi nella comune di Torre Mordillo nel comune di Spezzano Albanese, *NSc*, 239-268, 462-480, 575-592, 648-671.
- Peroni, R. e.a. 2000, Quando tornarono gli Achei, *XXVI, Archeo*, 81-83.
- Quilici, L. e.a. 1968-1969, Carta archeologica della piana di Sibari, *AMSG*, n.s. 9-10, 89-155.
- Rainey, F. 1969, The location of Archaic Greek Sybaris, *AJA* 73, 261-273.
- Rainey, F./C.M. Lerici 1967, *The Search for Sybaris (1960-1965)*, Rome.
- Raselli Nydegger, L. 2000, *Irrwege, Antike auf der Rückreise, Sonderausstellung in der Antikensammlung Bern, 12 Jan. -4 März 2001*.
- Ridgway, D. 1982, The eighth century pottery at Pithekoussai, in: *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Naples, 45-56.
- Ridgway, D. 1998, L'Eubea e l'Occidente: nuovi spunti sulle rotte dei metalli, in: *Euboica, L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli, 13-16 Novembre 1996*, Napoli, 311-322.
- Sabbione, C. 1982, Le aree di colonizzazione di Crotone e Locri Epizefiri nell'VIII e VII sec. A.C., *ASAtene* 60, n.s. 44, 251-301.
- Sabbione C./R. Spadea, 1981, La 'Società Magna Grecia' e la ricerca archeologica, in: P. Amato e.a. (ed) *Umberto Zanotti Bianco meridionalista militante*, Venezia, 115-136.
- Semeraro, G. 2000, Le ceramiche Greco-orientali in Italia meridionale appunti sulla distribuzione, in: *Magna Grecia e Oriente mediterraneo prima dell'età ellenistica, Atti del 39o convegno sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1-5 Ottobre 1999*, Napoli, 575-501.
- SIBARI I* 1969: Foti, G. e.a., *Sibari: saggi di scavo al Parco del Cavallo (1969) (= NSc 1969, first supplement)*, Rome.
- SIBARI II* 1970: Foti, G. e.a., *Sibari. Scavi al Parco del Cavallo (1960-62; 1969-1970) e agli Stombi (1969-1970) (= NSc 1970, third supplement)*, Rome.
- SIBARI III* 1971: Foti, G. e.a., *Sibari III. Rapporto Preliminare della campagna di scavo: Stombi, Casa Bianca, Parco del Cavallo San Mauro (1971) (= NSc 1974, supplement)*, Rome.
- SIBARI IV* 1972: G. Foti e. a., *Sibari. Relazione preliminare della campagna di scavo: Stombi, Parco del Cavallo, Prolungamento Strada, Casa Bianca (1972) (= NSc 1978, supplement)*, Rome.
- SIBARI V* 1993-'74: Lattanzi, E. e.a., *Sibari V, Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1973 (Parco del Cavallo; Casa Bianca) e 1974 (Stombi; Incrocio; Parco del Cavallo; Prolungamento Strada; Casa Bianca) (= Nsc 1988-1989, third supplement)*, Rome.
- Siris-Polieion* 1986: *Siris-Polieion, Atti del Convegno Policoro 1984*, Galatina.
- Snodgrass, A. 1994, The growth and standing of the early western colonies, in: G.R. Tsetschladze/F. de Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford, 1-10.
- Spadea, R. 1997, Santuari di Hera a Crotone, in: *Héra, Images, espaces, cultes, Actes du Colloque internationale au Centre de recherches archéologiques de l'université de Lille III et de l'association P.R.A.C.*, 29-30 novembre 1993, *Collection du Centre Jean Bérard* 15, Naples, 235-259.
- Stillwell, A.N./J.L. Benson 1984, *Corinth XV, III. The Potters' Quarter* Weinberg. Saul, S. 1943, *Corinth VII.1, The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*, Princeton.
- Stoop, M.W. 1983, Note sugli scavi nel santuario di Atene sul Timpone della Motta, *BABesch* 58, 16-52.
- Tagliente, M. 1986a, Nuclei di abitazione arcaico nel territorio di Policoro, in: *I Greci sul Basento*, 193-198.
- Tagliente, M. 1986b, Policoro: Nuovi scavi nell'area di Siris, in: *Siris-Polieion*, 131-132.
- Torelli, M. 1979, Considerazioni sugli aspetti religiosi e culturali, in: D. Musti (ed.), *Le tavole di Locri, Atti del colloquio sugli aspetti politici, economici, culturali e linguistici dei testi dell'archivio locrese, Napoli 1977*, Rome.
- Zancani Montuoro, P. 1961, La campagna archeologica del 1932 nella Piana del Crati. Parte II: I ritrovamenti al 'Parco del Cavallo', *AMSG* n.s. 4, 8-63.
- Zancani Montuoro, P. 1976, Francavilla Marittima, Necropoli, *AMSG* 15-17, 9-106.
- Zancani Montuoro, P. 1979, Francavilla Marittima, Necropoli di Macchiabate, saggi e scoperte in zone varie, *AMSG* 18-20, 7-91.
- Zancani Montuoro, P. 1982, Francavilla Marittima, Necropoli e ceramica a Macchiabate - zona T, tombe T1-54, *AMSG* 21-23, 7-129.
- Zancani Montuoro, P. 1984, Francavilla Marittima, Necropoli e ceramica a Macchiabate - zona T (continuazione), Tombe 55-93, *AMSG* 24-25, 7-110.
- Zanotti Bianco, U. 1932, review Kahrstedt in *ASCL* II, 283-291.
- Zanotti Bianco, U. 1960, La campagna archeologica del 1932 nella Piana del Crati, *AMSG* n.s. 3, 7-20.
- Zuntz, G. 1971, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia*, Oxford, 299-333.

GRONINGEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
POSTSTRAAT 6
NL-9712 ER GRONINGEN
m.kleibrink@let-rug.nl

Table 1. Examples of the earliest pot sherds in the layers excavated near the theatre at Parco del Cavallo, Sibari

| Thapsos Ware (and imitations), late 8th/early 7th c. BC | Protocorinthian wares (EPC/MPC, often decoration not clear) first half 7th c. BC | East-Greek wares (and imitations) first half 7th c. BC | 'a filetti' cups (early types) and other early cups (mostly local products), first half of the 7th c. BC | colonial wares with sub-geometric designs, probably first half of the 7th c. BC | native matt-painted and impasto wares, 8th and 7th centuries BC | imported transport amphorae, 7th c. BC |
|--|---|---|--|---|---|---|
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8247bis, rim of cup with panel, SIBARI I, nr. 181; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 5 | PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 1684, PC kotyle sherds, SIBARI I, nr. 168; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 3 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10953a-b, 10948a-b, rim sherd of Rhodian oinochoe, c. 700 BC: SIBARI II, nr. 378; Dehl 1984, 262 | PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11688, 11660, '1 rims of filetti cups, SIBARI I, nr. 175-'7 | PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10651-'52, deinós sherds with banded deco: SIBARI II, nrs. 324-'25 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. nr. 14741, askos: SIBARI II, nr. 411 | PdC, only a few sherdmnts of early imported specimen: Semeraro 2000, 470f |
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8247, SIBARI I, nr. 182; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 6 | PdC, pit 5, layer f2, no inv., PC kotyle rim sherd, SIBARI I, nr. 196; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 4 | PdC, Fehlmann 3, SE part, 13th cut, inv. 4122, sherd of neck, Rhodian or local imitation: SIBARI V, nr. 173 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11205-'06, shoulder and base of cantaroid cup, SIBARI II, nrs. 351-'2 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 13277, crater sherd with horizontal bands: SIBARI II, nr. 396 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 13th cut, inv. 4431, base impasto pot: SIBARI V, nr. 175 | |
| PdC pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10969-'70 + 1196, rim of cup with panel: SIBARI II, nr. 349; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 1 | PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11674 and no number, very small sherds PC cups and oinochoai, SIBARI I, nrs. 170-172 | | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10916, sherd of glazed cup: SIBARI II, nr. 353 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10955, 14743c sherds of cylindrical pyxis: SIBARI II, nr. 397 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 14th cut, inv. 4509, 2 impasto spindles SIBARI V, nr. 181 | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14726 rim of cup with filetti: SIBARI II, nr. 350; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 2 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14739, wall + handle attachment of kylix, SIBARI II, nr. 354 | | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10911, rim of filetti cup, SIBARI II, nr. 381 | PdC, pit 4, layer , inv. 11207, sherd of deinós: SIBARI II, nr. 399 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 14th cut, inv. 4508, wall sherd of impasto pot SIBARI V, nr. 182 | |
| Rectangular building, south, layer 4, 2nd cut, inv. 3910, SIBARI V, nr. 39 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10801b, kotyle wall sherd., SIBARI II, nr. 355 | | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10751, 13275 rims of filetti cups, SIBARI II, nrs. 391A, 391bis | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 1, inv. 10206, oinochoe neck sub-geom. deco: SIBARI V, nr. 197 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4811, impasto rim SIBARI V, nr. 186 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| Rectangular building, layer 5, 1st cut, inv. 61, cup sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 31 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10954a-c, pyxis sherds. with line decorations: SIBARI II, nr. 356 | | PdC, rectangular building, layer 4, cut 2, inv. 4237, sherd of filetti cup: SIBARI V, nr. 40 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 4, inv. 10354 stamnos with banded deco: SIBARI V, nr. 200 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4824, impasto rim SIBARI V, nr. 187 | |
| Rectangular building, north, layer 9, inv. 3499, 3764, cup sherds, SIBARI V, nrs. 124-'25 | PdC pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14729 skyphos sherd. with chevrons on shoulder: SIBARI II, nrs. 359, 360 | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 4, inv. nr. 10452 pyxis with banded deco: SIBARI V, nr. 203 | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior well, inv. 10447, sherds of impasto bowl: SIBARI V, nr. 209 | |
| Rectangular building, deep cut nr. 6, inv. 12164, cup sherds, SIBARI V, nr. 197 | PdC pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14703, 14717-'8, 14734a-b, 14720, 14735, kotyle sherds among these a few imported MPC | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann3, well, cut 4, inv. Nr. 10409 anfora with banded deco, SIBARI V, nr. 205 | PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior well, inv. 10542 neck of matt painted vessel: SIBARI V, nr. 211 | |
| | PdC, rectangular building, SW, South, 9+10th cut, inv. 2731; SW, North, 12th cut, inv. 3689; SW, 14th cut, inv. 4435, kotyle sherds: SIBARI V, nrs. 133, 159, 176 | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 1, inv. 10206 sub-geom. oinochoe: SIBARI V, nr.197 | PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior well, 6th cut, inv. 10543-'44, 10548-'49 wall sherds closed vessel (matt p. or close) SIBARI V, nrs. 214-217 | |
| | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior of well, cut IV, inv. 10385, oinochoe neck: SIBARI V, 201 | | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior of well, inv. 10536 impasto bowl sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 221 | |
| | | | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior of well, inv. 10535 impasto bowl rim: SIBARI V, nr. 222 | |

Table 2. Examples of pot sherds from the second half of the 7th c. BC in the layers excavated near the theatre at Parco del Cavallo, Sibari

| Protocorinthian wares (MPC/LPC,EC) and good imitations, second half 7th c. BC | East-Greek wares, second half 7th c. BC | Filetti cups and other specimens, second half 7th c. BC | Colonial wares decorated with bands etc., second half 7th c. BC | Colonial glazed wares, second half 7th c. BC | amphorae, second half 7th/early 6th c. BC |
|--|---|--|---|---|---|
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8249, 8072, no nr., 8162, 8960, 8259, cup/skyphos sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 183-'6, 189-'90 | PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13082, 14699, 10650, sherds of chalices from Chios: SIBARI II, nr. 326 | PdC trench 3, layer f, inv. 8038, 7862, 8030,8008, 8050, 8037, 8055, 8240 SIBARI I, nrs. 216a-c, 217, 218a-c, 219, rims of filetti cups with various sections, some perhaps early | PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8089, sherds of amphora, SIBARI I, nr. 208 | PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11337, 11336a-h, sherds large closed vessels: SIBARI I, nrs. 18-'9 | Many specimens from Chios and Samos, cf. Semeraro 2000, 470f. |
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8826bis, 8257, 8066, pyxis sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 193-'5 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14722/22bis, 10801, 14742, sherds of chalices from Chios SIBARI II, 377a-d | PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11660-'1, filetti cups, SIBARI I, nrs. 176-'7 | PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11332, 11324, 11354, kylix sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 152-'4 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10960a,b, rim sherd of oinochoe in diluted red glaze SIBARI II, nr. 425 | |
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, no number, aryballos sherdment: SIBARI I, nr. 199 | Further cf. Senmeraro 2000 | PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13074, 10643-'4, 13073, 13078, 13091, 10640a-b, 10956, filetti cups: SIBARI II, nrs. 329-335 | PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11374, 11315 hydria/oinochoe sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 155-'6 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11224, carinated cup w. diluted black glaze SIBARI II, nr. 426 | |
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8954, 8095, 7864, 8963, kotyle sherds: SIBARI I, nrs 196-'8, 200, 203 | | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10943, 10750, 10912a-b, 10749, 10909, 10752, 11188, 13276, 1233b, 11221, 4737b, 11222, 11187, 10906, 11190, 10751, 10907, 13275, 10913-15, 10753, 10950, 11219, 11233, 14727-28, sherds of filetti cups SIBARI II, nrs. 379-394 | PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11428,11674, 'oinochoe' sherds SIBARI I, nrs. 178-'9 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11233c, rim sherd semi-globular cup diluted black glaze SIBARI II, nr. 427 | |
| PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv.8235, plate sherds: SIBARI I, nr. 211 | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, South, 10th cut, inv. 4889, filetti cup sherds, SIBARI V, nr. 139 | PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv.10651-'2, deinok sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 324-'5 | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. no number, aryballos sherd: SIBARI I, nr. 148 | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 13th cut, inv. 4129-'30, 4445, filetti cup sherds, SIBARI V, nr. 170-'71 | PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10641, lekane sherd, SIBARI II, nr. 335 | | |
| PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. no number, skyphos sherd: SIBARI I, nr. 149 | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior well, 2nd cut, inv. 10226, filetti cup fairly complete, SIBARI V, nr. 198 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10748, 10763, 10903a-c, 10904, 10940, 10945, 11223, sherds of large closed vessels (hydriai/amphorai) SIBARI II, nrs. 415-'6, 418-'9, 421-'2, 436 | | |
| PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11669, 11433 aryballos sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 162, 164 | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior of well, 4th cut, inv. 10451, filetti cup, fairly complete, SIBARI V, nr. 202 | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10959, 10957a-h, 10973, 10769a, 14712, 10960a-b, 11223, sherds of closed vessels (oinochoai?): SIBARI II, nrs. 423-'5, 436 | | |
| PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11433 alabastron sherd: SIBARI I, nr. 146 | | | PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10651-'2, deinokos sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 324-'5 | | |
| PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11432, 11697, 11428 oinochoe sherds: SIBARI I, nr. 165-'7 | | | PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11233c, 13273, 13274, 10952, 10905, 11220, cup sherds, SIBARI II, nrs. 427, 429, 433-'4 | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10646, 10761, aryballoi sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 308, 314 | | | In PdC, pit 4, layer f2, many more of the above small banded sherds of open and closed pots, cf SIBARI II, nrs. 395-410, some dating end 7th/early 6th c. BC | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10648,'9, 10758,'8bis, 14715a-c, pyxis sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 310-'12 | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4786, closed vessel sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 185 | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13071, oinochoe sherds: SIBARI II, nr. 315 | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4833, 4822, 4870, cup sherds: SIBARI V, nrs. 188, 189, 191 | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13070, 13080, 13096, 14700, kotyle sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 317-'22 | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4834, 4871, closed vessel sherds: SIBARI V, nr. 190, 192 | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10958, 112000 sherd of pyxis, metallic black with purple band, SIBARI II, nr. 357 | | | PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior well, 6th cut, inv. 10459, 10542m 10545, 10594, 10543,-'4, 10548-'9, 10633, 10651, closed vessel sherds, SIBARI V, nrs. 211-'20 | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11197, sherd of powder pyxis SIBARI II, nr. 358 | | | | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10923, sherd of oinochoe with running dog frieze, SIBARI II, nr. 370 | | | | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10936c, sherd of oinochoe SIBARI II, nr. 371 | | | | | |
| PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11233a, sherd of oinochoe SIBARI II, nr. 372 | | | | | |
| PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, inv. 10385, rim sherd of oinochoe SIBARI V, nr. 201 | | | | | |

Table 3. Examples of the earliest pot sherds from the layers excavated at Stombi

| Thapsos Ware, end of 8th/beginning 7th c. BC | Protocorinthian ware, first half 7th c. BC | East-Greek wares | 'a filetti' cups, first half 7th c. BC | Colonial wares decorated with bands etc., first half 7th c. BC | native wares, 8th-7th centuries BC |
|---|---|---|--|--|---|
| Stombi 1970, inv. 25827: SIBARI II, nr. 6; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 7 | skyphos sherd with sigmas: SIBARI III, 283; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 8 | only a few sherds of early imported specimen: Semeraro 2000, 470f | | Stombi 1974, inv. 4000 crater sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 237 | Stombi 1970, inv. 27166, impasto spindle: SIBARI II, nr. 479 |
| Stombi, trench 4, 5th cut, inv. 8312: SIBARI III, nr. 297; Dehl 1984, 262, nr. 12 | kotyle sherd with sigmas: SIBARI III, 136; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 9 | | | | Stombi 1970, inv. 22958, impasto cup-handle: SIBARI II, nr. 470 |
| Stombi Pit I south trench V and Pit 2 south trench VI, inv. 33850: SIBARI III, nr. 90, Dehl 1984, 262, nr. 13 | kotyle sherd with sigmas: SIBARI III, nr. 272; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 10 | | | | Stombi 1970, inv. 23989, impasto spindle: SIBARI II, nr. 480 |
| Stombi 1971, trench 3, 3rd cut, inv. 3150, cup rim, sub-Thapsos: SIBARI II, nr. 71 | jug: SIBARI III, 284; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 11 | | | | Stombi below house c; inv. 3484, impasto spindle SIBARI V, nr. 251 |
| Stombi 1974, below house c, 15th cut, inv. 3423, cup rim: SIBARI V, nr. 236 | | | | | Stombi below house c, inv. 3515 sherd of impasto jug, SIBARI V, nr. 262 |
| | | | | | inv. 7341, sherd matt painted vessel, SIBARI IV, nr. 218 |
| | | | | | Sherd of matt painted vessel, inv. 8347: SIBARI IV, nr. 361 |
| | | | | | inv. 3484 impasto spindle: SIBARI V, nr. 251 |
| | | | | | inv. 3515 sherd of impasto jug: SIBARI V, nr. 262 |

Table 4. Examples of the pot sherds from the second half of the 7th c. BC excavated at Stombi

| Corinthian wares (MPC/LPC,EC) and good imitations, second half 7th c. BC | East-Greek wares, second half 7th c. BC | Filetti cups and other specimens, second half 7th c. BC | Colonial wares decorated with bands etc., second half 7th c. BC | amphorae, second half 7th/early 6th c. BC |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| Stombi 1969, inv. 12950a-b, oinochoe sherds: SIBARI II, nr. 38 | Cf. Semeraro 2000, 470f. | Stombi 1970, inv. 23034, 23037, 23117, 23856, 24707, 24589, 24333, 26751, 2506a, 25277, 25584, 26800b, 23073, 25085, 24706bis, 23025, 24706ter, 25499, 23610, 24281, 25254, filetti cup sherds (some of later date): SIBARI II, nrs. 174-179 | Stombi 1970, nrs 25560a, 26215, 26811bis, sherds of large pyxis, SIBARI II, nrs 284, 284bis; moreover vessels decorated with bands, many dating from the late 7th/early 6th c. BC SIBARI II, nrs. 261-'83, | Cf. Semeraro 2000, 470f. |
| Stombi 1969, inv. 12143, 13546, aryballos sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 61, 89 | | Stombi 1974, inv. 3232, SIBARI V, nr. 212 | Stombi 1972, inv. 886, 892 large vessel sherds: SIBARI IV, nrs. 18-19 | Stombi 1972, inv. 12597 sherds of amphora from Chios SIBARI IV, nr. 161 |
| Stombi 1969, inv. 13577a, kotyle sherds, decoration unclear: SIBARI II, nr. 91 | | Stombi 1974, inv. 3133, 3225, 3240, 3246, SIBARI V, nrs. 215-'9 | Stombi 1972, inv. 2987, 2598, 3114 large vessel sherds: SIBARI IV, nrs. 30, 45, 58 | Stombi 1972, inv. 10725, SOS amphorae sherds, SIBARI IV, nrs. 353-'4 |
| Stombi 1970, inv. 25049, 25187, 25000, 23380, 24274 kotyle sherds (deco not clear): SIBARI II, nrs. 1-5 | | Stombi 1974, inv. 3330, SIBARI V, nr. 242 | Stombi 1972, inv. 6861, 10289, 10290 large vessel sherds: SIBARI IV, nrs. 141, 362-'3 | |
| Stombi 1970, inv. 25011, 24069, 23068, 25083, kylix sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 7-9bis; furthermore comparatively large amounts of MC kotylai, aryballoi, pyxides and oinochoe sherds SIBARI II, nrs 15-105 | | Stombi 1974, inv. 3641, 3657, 3647, 3499, SIBARI V, nrs. 255-'8 | Stombi 1972, inv. 6743 sherd decorated with running dogs frieze: SIBARI IV, nr. 308 | |
| Stombi 1970, inv. 24427, 22880bis, 24137, 25287, 24338, oinochoe sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 10-14 | | Stombi 1974, inv. 3691, 3692, 3696, SIBARI V, nrs. 264-'6 | | |
| inv. 1590, kotyle sherd: SIBARI IV, nr. 57 | | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| <p>Inv. 8762, 8216, 11097,9897, 14630 sherds of large vessels: SIBARI IV, nrs. 285-289</p> <p>Stombi 1974, inv. 3129, powder pyxis, SIBARI V, nr. 209</p> <p>Stombi 1974, inv. 3221 black lekythos, SIBARI V, nr. 211</p> <p>Stombi 1974, inv. 3994, pyxis, SIBARI V, nr. 239</p> | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|

Table 5. Sites in the Metapontino, Siritide and Sibaritide with Middle Geometric to Middle Protocorinthian imported pots

| Sites | Middle Geometric II, 800-760/750 - chevron skyphos (790-770); proto-kotyle (770-750) | Late Geometric I 750-'20, Aetos 666 (750), heron kotylai (740-720) kotylai with double axe metopes?; Euboian metope skyphoi with circles on the rim | Late Geometric/Early Protocorinthian Thapsos cups with and without panels | Early Proto-Corinthian (Late Geometric II on Ischia) 720-690 globular aryballoi, tall kotylai with soldier birds, floating sigmas | Middle Proto-Corinthian | Transport amphorai | VIIIth/early VII c. not Corinthian |
|------------|--|---|---|---|---|--------------------|--|
| Alianello | | | necropolis sub-Thapsos cups: Atti Taranto 1995, 536 (E. Lippolis) | aryballoi: Atti Taranto 1995, 536 (E. Lippolis) | | | |
| Altamura | | | | Popolizio area: Geom. ?/PC vessel sherd: Atti Taranto 1995, 536 (E. Lippolis) | | | |
| Amendolara | | | Thapsos cup, Morgette/Uomo Morto necropolis tomb 105: Dehl 1984, 187-'8, nr. 1 (with bibl.) | sub-Geometric cup, Morgette/Uomo Morto necropolis tomb 126; De la Genière 1969, 79-89, around 700 BC | kotylai, skyphoi, kylikes, aryballoi, Morgette/Uomo Morto necropolis: Dehl 1984, 187-188 (with bibl.) | | |
| Crotone | | Station: kotylai with herons, Atti Taranto 1995, 538 (E. Lippolis) | Thapsos cups at Station, Post office, Cutro, Pertusola, Batteria, Vigna di Galluccio and Acquedotto: Atti Taranto 1995, 538 (E. Lippolis) | Kotylai with soldier birds etc.: Sabbione 1982, nrs. 12-13, 19-22 (e.g. Via Firenze) | ? | | Local imitations of Proto-Corinthian vessels: Sabbione 1982, nrs. 30-38, 39-46 |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Francavilla Mma | | Aetos 666 cup, habitation, Timpone Motta (unp.); Euboian cup with circles on rim, native long house Acropolis (unp.); kyathos scavi Stoop, now attrib. to native long house: Dehl 1984, 55; kotylai Macchiabate tombs: T8, T88, U15 and CR1 (all of insecure dating because decoration vanished; Dehl 1984, 41 and D'Agostino, <i>C ramique</i> 61f. place them in LG; the cup in tomb CR1 is perhaps earlier because a chevron cup | Thapsos cups from unidentified Acropolis features: Dehl 1984, 7-9; from Building V in the Acropolis (unp.) circa 30 sherds and one complete cup from Stipe I on the Acropolis (unp. material scavi Stoop, unp. material recently returned to Sibari Mus., material from recent excavation.) | Pyxis Macchiabate T8, often dated LG (Dehl 1984, 12, 13 with lit.), slightly advanced EPC more correct. Kotylai with soldier birds: Dehl 1984, 14-15; dark ground kotylai with hourglass decoration and rozette decoration. Among unpublished material from Stipe I: soldier bird kotylai circa 30 sherds, piriform aryballoi circa 7 sherds, conical lekythoi, circa 40 sherds | Late MPC ovoidal aryb.: Dehl 1984, 205-208 (with lit.); also Neeft 1987, 427; 48 pots from stipe I (Johansen 1994, 82-115); stipe I, MPC II skyphos (Stoop 1972, 59); hundreds of pots now returned to the Sibari Mus. (unp.); finds from recent excavated temple V colonial phase (unp.) | Macchiabate T8 SOS amphorastipe I: Rhodian jug; hundreds of vessels locally produced (mainly second half 7th c. BC) | stipe I: Rhodian jug; hundreds of vessels locally produced (mainly second half 7th c. BC) |
| Incoronata | Proto-kotyle inv. 124418, MG II trench A, pit 6, GsB, nr. 55; Dehl 1984, 210, nr. 1 | Heron kotyle, GsB, nr. 61 | | EPC kotyle inv. 299742 trench T, pit 4 (Metaponto 2, 57ff.); conical lekythoi (GsB, nrs. 56-58) nr. 57 is from trench A; nr. 58 from trench O of the habitation; ovoidal aryb. GsB, nrs. 59-60; LPC kotyle and skyphoi, GsB, nrs. 62, 65-67 trench O pit 1 | kotylai, GsB, nrs. 63-64; trench T 'oikos greco', broad bottom oinochoe and kotylai (Metaponto 2, 57 ff) | transport amphorae habitation areas, trenches E, F, P, T, etc., see GsB from Sparta, Athens and Corinth 700-630 BC | Rhodian jug GsB, nr. 68 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| Metapontion | Proto-kotyle MG II, 'castrum' site at Metapontion: Atti Taranto 1995, p. 500, fig. 31 | | | | Kotylai, localita' Andrisani | Corinthian transport amphorae localita' Andrisani | |
| Cozzo Presepe | | | | | pc aryballos Neeft 1987 inv. 134805 | | |
| Policoro | | | | piriform aryballoi datable to mid 7th c. BC from the Castello slope (Giardino 1998, 114); PC kotylai from fortification site; kotyle 680/70 BC from Demeter sanctuary: necropolis contrada Schirone; see also Dehl 1984, 245, nrs. 1-14 | Aryballoi from the necropolis Madonelle; kotylai from Collina del Castello, Giardino 1998, 114 | Laconian and Corinthian transport amphorae from Schirone and Madonnelle (Giardino 1998) | Rhodian bird bowl: Dehl 1984, 247 |
| Roggiano Prunetta | | kotyle Tomb 3: Dehl 1984, 41 (with bibl.) attributes the cup to the dark kotyle class | | | | | |
| S.Maria Anglona | | | | | tomb 14 aryballos, Neeft 1987, attribution to the Tor Pisana workshop | | |
| Sibari | | | Rims from Thapsos class cups from Parco d. Cavallo and Stombi (Dehl 1984, 71 with bibl.), see table 1 | See tables 1-4 | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Torre del Mordillo | skyphos with chevrons: Dehl 1984, 105 with bibl. | horse-head of a geometric statue, trench 19, American excavations | | | PC skyphoi sherds kept in the Cosenza, Mus.: Guzzo 1982b, 246, fig. 17 | | |
|--------------------|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|

Table 6. Colony dates deduced from the various ancient writers

| Colony | Thucydides | Eusebius (Armenia) | Eusebius (Jerome) |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Pithekoussai | | | (1050) |
| Kumai | | | |
| Naxos | 734 | 736 | 741 |
| Syrakousai | 733 | 734 | 738 |
| Leontinoi | 729 | | |
| Megara Hyblaia | 728 | | |
| Kroton | | | 709 |
| Sybaris | | 708 | 709 |
| Siris | | | |
| Metapontion | | 773? | |
| Taranto | | | 706 |

Zur 'Ehrenrettung' des Leidener Asklepiosreliefs*

Stephanie Böhm

Unter den Exponaten des Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden befindet sich ein Relief mit der Darstellung von Asklepios und Hygieia (Abb. 1),¹ das zu jener Gruppe von Denkmälern gehört, die im Stil eines griechischen Weihreliefs der Klassik gehalten sind, sich bei näherer Betrachtung jedoch als eklektische Neuschöpfung der römischen Kaiserzeit erweisen.²

Die Arbeit galt seit 1844 als 'ein attisches Stück aus der Blütezeit der griechischen Kunst';³ eine Einschätzung, die sich in den Museumsführern von 1925 und 1936 wiederfindet, in denen das Relief ins 5. Jh. v. Chr. datiert wird, entstanden unter dem Einfluß des Phidias.⁴ Seit 1948 hingegen wird in der Beschriftung des Exponates und im neuen, 1951 gedruckten Museumsführer völlig zu Recht eine Entstehung in der römischen Kaiserzeit vertreten, mit dem Zusatz 'klassizistisch-neuattisch'.⁵ In einem 1976 erschienenen Festschriftbeitrag von H. Brunsting erfuhr das Asklepiosrelief schließlich durch die ausführliche Darlegung der Erwerbungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte eine eingehendere Würdigung.⁶ Darüber hinaus wurde von Brunsting aufgrund des geringen Gebrauchs des Bohrers bei der Haar- und Bartgestaltung der Asklepiosfigur eine Datierung in hadrianische Zeit vorgeschlagen. Anlaß zur erneuten Beschäftigung mit dem Leidener Asklepiosrelief gibt eine 'Negativschlagzeile' aus dem Jahr 1975, in der das Relief als 'forgery' bezeichnet wird.⁷ Da es nicht das erste Mal wäre, daß seriöse Antiken durch Fehleinschätzung ihrer kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung verkannt und mit dem Stempel der Fälschung versehen werden,⁸ mögen die folgenden Ausführungen der Rehabilitierung des Leidener Asklepiosreliefs dienen. Entgegen unserer rechtsstaatlichen Praxis, um es mit den Termini der Jurisprudenz auszudrücken, wonach die Beweislast selbstverständlich dem Kläger obliegt, soll hier nun im Verfahren der Beweislastumkehr ein Plädoyer für die Echtheit der Leidener Antike gehalten werden!

Das Relief besteht aus ziemlich grobkörnigem, gelblichem Marmor und hat mit 52 cm Höhe und 53,5 cm Breite eine nahezu quadratische Form. Die Maße wie auch die Tatsache, daß das Relief als unteren Abschluß lediglich eine schmale Standleiste für die Figuren aufweist und ansonsten eine obere oder seitliche Rahmung vermissen läßt, sind keine Besonderheiten, die unser Mißtrauen hervorrufen müßten, sondern ganz im Gegenteil, es sind Merkmale, die unter klassizistischen Weihreliefs sogar oft zu beobachten sind.⁹

Wie eingangs erwähnt, ist das Relief den klassischen Votivreliefs für Asklepios und Hygieia nachempfunden. Links sitzt der nach rechts gewandte Heilgott, ihm gegenüber steht Hygieia, die in der Rechten eine Kanne hält, aus der sie ein Trankopfer in eine Schale in ihrer linken Hand gießt.¹⁰ Der bärtige Gott mit einer Binde im nackenlangen Haar, der mit einem über die linke Schulter gelegten Himation bekleidet ist, das den Oberkörper frei läßt, entspricht vollends der für Asklepios üblichen Ikonographie, wie sie auf den attischen Weihreliefs des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. immer wieder begegnet.¹¹ Auch das Sitzen des Heilgottes auf einem Klismos entspricht einem Bildschema dieser

* Mein herzlicher Dank für Diskussionsbereitschaft gilt F. Sinn (Würzburg) sowie W. Geominy (Bonn), J. Ronke (Stuttgart) und A. Scholl (Berlin), die außerdem die kritische Lektüre des Manuskriptes übernahmen.

Zusätzlich zu den im *Archäologischen Anzeiger* 1997, 611-624 angeführten Abkürzungen wird hier die folgende verwendet: Brunsting 1976: H. Brunsting, Asklepios-Boerhaave, in: *Festoen. Festschrift A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta* (1976) 175-185.

¹ F. Bastet-H. Brunsting, *Corpus Signorum Classicorum Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi*, Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden V (1982) 106 Kat. 197 Taf. 53; R. Halbertsma-L. Mol, *Beeldhouwkunst uit Hellas en Rome* (1995) 72 Kat. 29.

² Verf., *JdI* 105, 1995, 405-429; Verf., *AntK* 42, 1999, 26-40.

³ So zitiert von Brunsting 1976, 175. Diese Worte gehen auf L.J.F. Janssen zurück (s. Brunsting 1976, 177 m. Anm. 7).

⁴ *Griekenland, Rome en Etrurië in's Rijks Museum van Oudheden. Gids voor de klassieke afdeling* (1925) 8 Nr. 9b. (1936²) 14 Nr. 11b.

⁵ *Gids voor de verzameling van Griekse en Romeinse beeldhouwwerken* (1951) 10; (1966²) 14 Nr. 26.

⁶ Brunsting 1976, 175-185.

⁷ E. Mitropoulou, *Libation Scene with Oinochoe in Votive Reliefs* (1975) 66 Nr. 49. Dies geschah jedoch ohne Erläuterung, lediglich mit dem Hinweis 'see my forthcoming article on Forgeries No. 5'.

⁸ Als eines von zahlreichen Beispielen sei das sog. Musenrelief Chigi im Museo Nazionale di Siena genannt, dessen Echtheit von M. Wegner, *Die Musensarkophag*, ASR V 3 (1966) 84 Nr. 222 bezweifelt wurde. Dagegen K. Fittschen, *Gnomon* 44, 1972, 495, der mit guten Argumenten in dem Relief keine Fälschung, sondern eine römische Kopistenarbeit sieht. Eine Variante in der Beurteilung bietet zuletzt L. Guerrini, *ArchCl* 41, 1989, 1-25; ihrer Meinung nach ist das Relief klassizistisch, entstanden im späten 2.-1. Jh. v. Chr.

⁹ H. P. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 16, 1966, 115-129 Taf. 17; Verf., *AntK* 42, 1999, 27ff. Taf. 6, 1; 8, 1; 9, 1.

¹⁰ Schale und linker Unterarm ab Ellbogen sind weggebrochen und in Marmor ergänzt. Ein Sprung im Relief verläuft schräg vom oberen Reliefrand durch den Hals der Kanne bis auf Höhe der etwas tiefer gehaltenen Schale und endet kurz darunter.

¹¹ U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilum* (1948) passim.

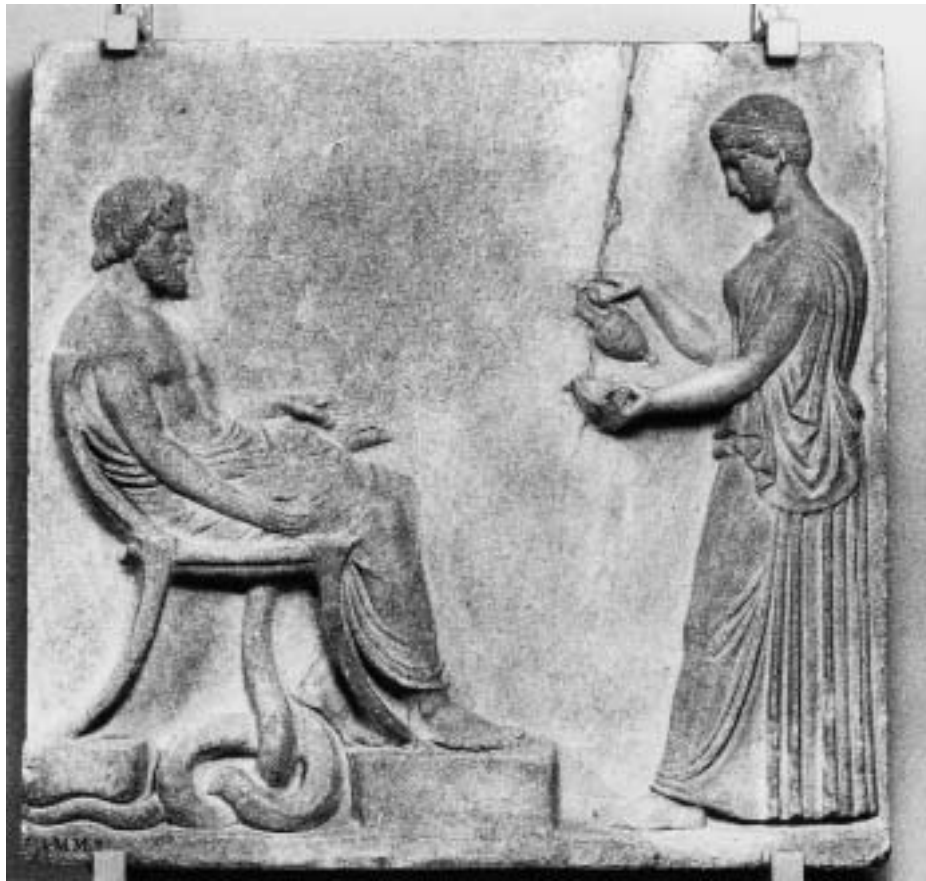


Abb. 1. Asklepiosrelief Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. 1884: AMM 2.

Denkmälergattung.¹² Die griechischen Asklepiosreliefs dienten dem klassizistischen Bildhauer demnach als Vorlage, an ihnen orientierte er sich, indem er den Typus des Votivreliefs rezipierte.

Für ein griechisches Original wird man das Leidener Relief freilich nicht halten, denn neben den gerade beschriebenen Gemeinsamkeiten gibt es eine Reihe motivischer und stilistischer Unstimmigkeiten, die es nicht angebracht erscheinen lassen, das Relief unter die Asklepiosvotive der Spätklassik einzuordnen. Die Alternative kann jedoch nicht darin bestehen, das Leidener Relief zur Fälschung zu erklären.

Von Brunsting wurde bereits auf Unterschiede zur Kompositionsweise attischer Grabreliefs hingewiesen.¹³ Im Vergleich dazu falle auf, daß die Figuren von Asklepios und Hygieia sehr weit voneinander getrennt und auseinandergezogen seien. Es sei dies eine Gemeinsamkeit mit neuattischen Reliefs der Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit, zu deren Charakteristika ebenfalls die Isoliertheit von Einzelfiguren gehöre. Anders als bei neuattischen Werken suche man bei dem Leidener Relief allerdings vergeblich

nach Repliken. Diese von Brunsting als vermeintliches Manko hervorgehobene Eigenschaft braucht aber nicht zu verwundern, denn bei den kaiserzeitlich-klassizistischen Reliefs im Stil griechischer Weihreliefs handelt es sich um eklektische Neuschöpfungen singulären Charakters. Ein Kopien- bzw. Replikenverhältnis gehört nicht zu ihren Merkmalen.

Was die motivischen Besonderheiten des Leidener Asklepiosreliefs betrifft, so muß man sicherlich an erster Stelle das eigenartige Podest nennen, auf dem der Klismos und die Füße des Asklepios stehen.¹⁴ Unter klassischen Votivreliefs lassen sich dafür jedenfalls keine ikonographischen Parallelen finden. Üblicherweise ruhen die Füße der sitzenden Gottheit auf einem Fußschemel.¹⁵ Einen sehr schönen Vergleich

¹² LIMC II (1984) 873 s.v. Asklepios 62. 71. 73 (B. Holtzmann).

¹³ Brunsting 1976, 176.

¹⁴ Das vordere Stuhlbein ist abgebrochen und in Stuck ergänzt.

¹⁵ Ausnahmen gibt es allerdings auch hier, wie das Relief aus Mondragone zeigt, wo ein eckiger, podestartiger Untersatz als Fußstütze dient: D. Bonanone, *Il rilievo da Mondragone nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (1995) Abb. 1.



Abb. 2. Grabrelief eines Arztes, Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. SK 804.

für den so ungewöhnlichen podestartigen Untersatz bietet erst ein viel jüngeres Beispiel, ein späthellenistisches Grabrelief in Berlin (Abb. 2) nämlich, auf dem der heroisierte Verstorbene, ein Arzt, eine Gruppe von Adoranten empfängt.¹⁶ Vor ihm steht ein Altar, er selbst sitzt auf einem Klismos, und davor befindet sich ein Fußschemel. Beide stehen auf einer Basis, weshalb Weickert davon ausging, daß es sich bei dem Bild des Arztes um eine Statue handle, vergleichbar dem Menander- und dem Euripides-Relief.¹⁷

Faßt man diese Beobachtung mit einer weiteren Besonderheit des Leidener Reliefs zusammen, so mag mit der Sitzfigur des Asklepios ebenfalls die Wiedergabe einer Statue gemeint sein. Auffällig ist, daß das Podest unter dem Sitz des Gottes nicht als durchgehende Basis gebildet, sondern unterbrochen ist. Dies war offenbar aus Platzgründen notwendig, denn der Zwischenraum wird von dem dicken Leib einer sich unter dem Klismos emporwindenden Schlange ausgefüllt. Für ihn mußte Raum gewonnen werden. Der Kopf des Tieres erscheint zur

Linken des Gottes, oberhalb des Oberschenkels. Asklepios hält seine Hand darüber, ohne die Schlange zu berühren. Damit ist man bei einem weiteren Motiv, das sich in dieser Art auf keinem der griechischen Asklepiosreliefs in vergleichbarer Weise belegen läßt. Ist dies nun endlich als Indiz für eine Fälschung zu werten? Wohl kaum. Was dem klassizistischen Künstler hier möglicherweise als Bildvorlage diente, sind Münzen aus Epidauros, die in zwei Prägewellen entstanden: Eine erste von Trihemidrachmen, die in zwei Typenfolgen von der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jhs. (Abb. 3) bis in die 1. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. in Umlauf waren, und eine zweite, kaiserzeitliche Serie, die von Antoninus Pius,

¹⁶ *Die Antikensammlung im Pergamonmuseum und in Charlottenburg. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (1992) 194 Kat. 89 (mit Farbabb.). Den Hinweis auf dieses Relief verdanke ich A. Scholl. Ein Abguß davon befindet sich im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn: *Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn. Verzeichnis der Abguß-Sammlung* (1981) 150 Nr. 1990.

¹⁷ C. Weickert, *MüJb* N.F. 2, 1925, 11 Anm. 2.



Abb. 3. Trihemidrachmon aus Epidauros in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Hadrian, Marc Aurel, Iulia Domna und Caracalla geprägt wurde.¹⁸ Asklepios sitzt im Profil, mit nacktem Oberkörper und einem um den Leib geschlungenen Himation, die Linke ist angewinkelt erhoben und faßt ein Szepter, während er seinen rechten Arm vorstreckt und die Hand über den Kopf einer Schlange hält, deren Körper sich in mehreren Windungen zu seiten des Asklepios aufrichtet. Diese Münzen werden mit einer Goldelfenbeinstatue des Asklepios in Epidauros in Verbindung gebracht, die von dem parischen Künstler Thrasymedes geschaffen wurde und von Pausanias genau beschrieben wird.¹⁹ Diese Münzbilder liefern für die Asklepiosfigur, die die Hand über den Kopf der Schlange hält, die exakte typologische Vergleichsmöglichkeit. Der auf dem Leidener Relief dargestellte Heilgott wirkt wie eine Kontamination zweier Asklepiostypen: zum einen der auf dem Klismos sitzende Gott, wie ihn die attischen Votive bezeugen, und zum anderen werden Merkmale des gerade beschriebenen Münzbildtypus übernommen, zu dem allerdings das Sitzen auf einem Diphros und das Szepter als Attribut gehören. Daß der auf dem Klismos sitzende Asklepios auf dem Leidener Relief schwerlich mit Szepter und zurückgenommenem Arm dargestellt werden konnte, liegt auf der Hand. Eine derartige Haltung kann nur bei einem Sitz ohne Rückenlehne eingenommen werden. Da der Bildhauer sich nun aber für einen Klismos entschieden hatte, blieb ihm keine andere Wahl, als den rechten Arm des Asklepios nach vorn zu nehmen, was dem Künstler zugegebenermaßen nicht besonders überzeugend gelungen ist. Diese Armhaltung wirkt etwas unmotiviert. Auf den kraftlos herabhängenden Arm des Gottes war auch schon von Brunsting im Zusammenhang mit Beobachtungen zur Qualität des Reliefs hingewiesen worden, ebenso wie auf den eigenartigen Block unter dem Stuhl.²⁰

Neben diesen Auffälligkeiten, die man zu den motivischen Besonderheiten des Reliefs zu zählen hat, weist Brunsting auch auf den labilen Stand der Frau hin, womit wir wiederum auf die Stilmerkmale des Reliefs zu sprechen kommen. Von der Isoliertheit der weit auseinandergezogenen Figuren war schon die Rede. Charakteristisch für den Reliefstil, der ja schon als kaiserzeitlich-klassizistisch bezeichnet wurde, ist im übrigen auch die geringe Relieftiefe. Die Gestalten, besonders die der Hygieia, erwecken den Eindruck, als seien sie mit der Matrize geformt und in strengem Profil, geradezu der Länge nach halbiert, vor den Reliefgrund gesetzt. Auf perspektivische Wiedergabe und Verkürzungen wurde vollends verzichtet.²¹ Für diesen Reliefstil gibt es in der Klassik keine Belege.

Auf den ersten Blick erinnert diese Frauengestalt an Peplosträgerinnen der Hochklassik. Die Hygieia des Leidener Reliefs trägt den einfach gegürteten Peplos mit weit über die Gürtung gezogenem Kolpos und Apoptygma. Was hier nachgeahmt wird, ist ein Figurentypus, der im späten 5. Jh. v. Chr. auf attischen und peloponnesischen Reliefs verschiedener Denkmälergattungen vielfach vertreten ist. In der Gegenüberstellung mit diesen griechischen Denkmälern wird aber auch der stilistische Unterschied augenfällig, der das Leidener Relief von jenen der Hochklassik absetzt. Charakteristisch für diese Tracht ist die lang herunterhängende Partie des Apoptygma unterhalb des Armes. Wie das Gewand an dieser Stelle bei Originalen des späten 5. Jhs. gestaltet ist, läßt ein vergleichender Blick auf die Demeterfiguren eleusinischer Weihreliefs²² oder die Diotima auf dem Relief aus Mantinea erkennen.²³ Der Peplosüberschlag erweckt tatsächlich den Eindruck von reicher Stofflichkeit. Kolpos und Apoptygma werden trefflich in ihrer Plastizität unterschieden. Unterhalb des Ellbogens der Priesterin erkennt man voluminöse und bogenförmig gestaffelte Tüfalten, die von breiten und zugleich weich gezeichneten Faltenältern getrennt werden. Dieses plastische Volumen des dicken Stoffes vermißt man bei der Gewandwiedergabe der Hygieia gänzlich. Bei nahezu identischer Armhaltung wird hier ein ganz anderes

¹⁸ B. Krause, AA 1972, 251 Abb. 14-34.

¹⁹ Paus. II 27,2; Krause a.O. 250-251. Mit Hilfe dieser Münzbilder identifiziert Krause einen überlebensgroßen Marmortorso in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek als frühantioninische Kopie der goldelfenbeinernen Asklepiosstatue von Epidauros.

²⁰ Brunsting 1976, 176.

²¹ Dieselben Stilmerkmale weisen auch weitere klassizistische Weihreliefs der Kaiserzeit auf. Man kann sie nachgerade als eine typische Erscheinung für den Reliefstil eklektischer Neuschöpfungen bezeichnen; s. Verf., *AntK* 42, 1999, 29 Taf. 6, 1.

²² A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *Jdl* 87, 1972, 112 Abb. 35-117 Abb. 39.

²³ B. Sissomondo Ridgway, *Fifth century styles in Greek sculpture* (1981) 141-142 Abb. 101; U. Kron in: *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, Boreas 24, 1996, 142 Abb. 1.



Abb. 4. Altar im Vespasian-Tempel, Pompeji; linke Schmalseite.

Faltenmotiv entworfen. Der im Kontur zwar auch bogenförmig herabhängende Peplosüberfall wirkt wie plattgedrückt. Gleichmäßig gestaltete Faltenbahnen laufen fast parallel und von zwei Seiten herkommend spitz aufeinander zu. Sie sind auf nur eine räumliche Ebene reduziert, ohne auch nur ansatzweise den Eindruck weicher Stofflichkeit zu suggerieren. Die oben zum Reliefstil vorgetragenen Beobachtungen bestätigen sich bei der Betrachtung des Gewandstils. Die größte Abweichung, jetzt allerdings motivischer, nicht stilistischer Art, stellt man in der Gestaltung der Beinpartie fest. Zu dem gerade beschriebenen Figurentypus gehört ein klar definiertes Standmotiv. Ganz gleich, ob die Figur auf der rechten oder linken Seite des Bildfeldes steht, immer ist die Standbeinseite der Frauengestalt außen, d.h. dem Betrachter zugewandt.²⁴ Die Seite des Standbeins wird vom Gewand mit gleichmäßig und streng parallel nebeneinanderliegenden Steilfalten bedeckt, während sich der Kontur des im Profil vorgestellten Spielbeins deutlich sichtbar abzeichnet und das straff gezogene Gewand lediglich von einigen Bogenfalten zwischen Knie und unterem Gewandsaum gegliedert wird. Im Vergleich dazu nimmt die Frau des

Leidener Reliefs eine seltsame Haltung ein: zwar weist auch sie die gerade beschriebene Differenzierung in der Gewanddrapierung auf, doch fehlt die zu erwartende Trennung von Stand- und Spielbein. Die Figur weist keinerlei Ponderation auf. Statt dessen ist ihr linker Fuß in großer Schrittstellung vorgesetzt, der rechte gar nicht sichtbar. Von einem Standmotiv im eigentlichen Sinn kann man daher gar nicht sprechen.²⁵ Es hat den Anschein, als schreite sie mit Kanne und Spendeschale in den Händen, worauf sie auch ihren Blick gerichtet hat, in Richtung der Asklepiosstatue.

Dieses Bewegungsmotiv ist in der Tat irritierend und findet in der griechischen Reliefplastik keine Analogie. Ist dies nun endlich als Hinweis auf eine Fälschung zu verstehen? Ist dem nachantiken Bildhauer hier ein gravierender 'Schnitzer' unterlaufen, der es uns erlaubt, sein Machwerk zu entlarven? Wohl kaum. So ungewöhnlich diese sperrig wirkende Schrittstellung der Hygieia einerseits auch sein mag, so eindeutig ist dies andererseits ein Phänomen, das diese Figur mit anderen eklektischen Werken des römischen Klassizismus teilt. Um dies zu verdeutlichen, reicht ein Blick auf ein Zweifigurenrelief nahezu gleichen Formats aus Tralles im Museum von Aydın.²⁶ Im Stil eines Weiheliefs der Hochklassik gehalten, wird hier ein nicht näher identifizierbares Götterpaar dargestellt. Zunächst wurde das Relief von Laubscher für eine Kopie nach einem griechischen Original gehalten und in die 2. Hälfte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert, dann aber zutreffend von Özgan als eklektische Neuschöpfung erkannt.²⁷ Interessant ist nun, daß die Frauengestalt, die sich ebenfalls eng an einem Figurentypus des späten 5. Jhs. v. Chr. orientiert, einen vergleichbar labilen Stand aufweist. Sie nimmt zwar keine Schrittstellung ein, bei der wie bei Hygieia der rechte Fuß vorangesetzt wird, sondern weist die 'kanonische' Beinstellung auf. Dennoch läßt sich auch bei dem Relief aus Tralles nicht eindeutig nach Stand- und Spielbein scheiden. Anders als bei den klassischen Relieffiguren kann man das vorgestellte Bein der Göttin auf dem Relief aus Tralles nicht als entlastet bezeich-

²⁴ Folgende Beispiele mögen genügen: H. Möbius, *Jdl* 49, 1934, 51 Abb. 3; U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (1960) 38 Abb. 18; 59 Abb. 28; M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, 13. Beih. *AM* (1989) 273 A 26. A 27 Taf. 10, 1, 2.

²⁵ Nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund wirkte das 'Mädchen auf dem Leidener Relief' auf A. Furtwängler 'leicht archaisierend', ansonsten aber im Strengen Stil gehalten. Er datiert das Relief in die hellenistische Periode, 3. oder 2. Jh. v. Chr.: A. Furtwängler, *AM* 8, 1883, 367 Taf. 18, 1.

²⁶ Maße: H = 59,5 cm; Br = 51,5 cm. H. P. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 16, 1966, 115-129 Taf. 17; R. Özgan, *Die griechischen und römischen Skulpturen aus Tralleis*, *Asia Minor Studien* 15 (1995) 45 TR 18 Taf. 8, 4.

²⁷ Laubscher a.O. 117. 127; Özgan a.O. 45.

nen. In dieser Hinsicht ist ihr Standmotiv von einer der Hygieiafigur durchaus vergleichbaren Sperrigkeit gekennzeichnet. Wie aus der Gemeinsamkeit dieser Gegenüberstellung hervorgeht, gibt es also für die vermeintliche Besonderheit im Haltungsmotiv der Hygieia durchaus Parallelfälle unter den eklektischen Relieferfindungen des römischen Klassizismus.

Auf eine kaiserzeitliche Entstehung des Leidener Reliefs läßt schließlich auch die von Hygieia gehaltene Kanne schließen. Ihre Form mit Kleeblattmündung, schlankem Hals und geschwungenem Henkel sowie mit bauchigem, sich nach unten verjüngendem Körper und konischem Fuß ist der klassischen Zeit fremd, dafür aber durch Darstellungen auf römischen Denkmälern, wie z.B. jenen der Sepulkral- und Sakralkunst (Abb. 4), vielfach verbürgt.²⁸ Als störend und somit als Indiz einer Fälschung könnte diese Kannenform nur von demjenigen gesehen werden, der das Relief mit Weihreliefs klassischer Zeit vergleicht.

Als nächstes gilt es nach der Herkunft des Leidener Asklepiosreliefs zu fragen. Diese liegt dank der umsichtigen Recherchen Brunstings keineswegs im Dunklen. Das Relief befand sich ehemals im Besitz von Frederik Graaf van Thoms (1696-1746), der in diplomatischen Diensten an verschiedenen Höfen in Italien tätig war und dort zwischen 1737 und 1739 Antiken erwarb.²⁹ In dieser Zeit kaufte er, seinen eigenen Worten zufolge, auch das Asklepiosrelief 'à Rome, du fameux marchand d'antiquaille le Sr. Borioni'.³⁰ Diese Angaben finden sich im Zusammenhang mit der ersten Erwähnung des Reliefs in der von Graf Thoms selbst verfaßten Beschreibung seiner Antikensammlung. Das Asklepiosrelief spielt in der Familiengeschichte des Grafen dann noch insofern eine Rolle, als es zur Vorlage für einen zwischen 1741 und 1746 entstandenen Stich diente, auf dem Asklepios und Hygieia die Porträtzüge von Herman Boerhaave und seiner Tochter Johanna Maria tragen. Dies war zweifellos als Hommage an Boerhaave (1668-1738), den Schwiegervater van Thoms', gedacht, der ein bedeutender Mediziner und Naturwissenschaftler war. Seine Tochter wurde 1741 die Ehefrau Frederik van Thoms'. Nach dem Tod des Grafen im Jahr 1746 begann für die Sammlung eine wechselvolle Geschichte. Zunächst wurde sie an Wilhelm IV. von Oranien, den Generalstatthalter der Niederlande, verkauft und ging dann in den Besitz seines Sohnes Wilhelm V. über. 1795 gelangte die Sammlung als Kriegsbeute nach Paris. 1815 nach Ende der französischen Herrschaft über die Niederlande wurde das Asklepiosrelief zusammen mit anderen Stücken aus der Sammlung van Thoms ins Rijksmuseum nach Amsterdam gebracht. Seit 1844 befindet sich das Asklepiosrelief in Leiden.

Die einzelnen Etappen des Verbleibs werden hier deshalb so ausführlich wiederholt, weil die ständig wechselnden Aufbewahrungsorte schließlich dazu beitrugen, daß die Zugehörigkeit des Asklepiosreliefs zur Sammlung des Grafen van Thoms in Zweifel gezogen wurde bzw. die entsprechende Kenntnis verloren ging.³¹ Nur so ist zu erklären, daß A. Furtwängler 1883 schrieb, die Herkunft des Reliefs sei leider nicht festzustellen.³² Der Marmor schien ihm kleinasiatisch zu sein und deshalb hielt er 'die Herkunft (des Reliefs) von der kleinasiatischen Küste für das wahrscheinlichste'. Es ist m.E. äußerst aufschlußreich für die Fehleinschätzung des Leidener Reliefs durch E. Mitropoulou, daß in ihrer Literaturangabe gerade auf den Aufsatz Furtwänglers verwiesen wird.³³ Offenbar hatte sie keine Kenntnis vom Ankauf der Antike in Rom in den späten dreißiger Jahren des 18. Jhs. Wenn es sich also um eine Fälschung handelte, so müßte sie vor bzw. zu diesem Zeitpunkt entstanden sein. Dies wiederum würde bedeuten, daß sich eine in Rom ansässige Fälscherwerkstatt griechische Asklepiosvotive zum Vorbild nahm, um diese mit der Absicht der Fälschung nachzuahmen. Gearbeitet hätte man allerdings für ein Publikum, das zum damaligen Zeitpunkt griechische Weihreliefs als Kunstwerke weder kannte noch zu ästimieren wußte. Nicht einmal in der Altertumswissenschaft hatte man sie als Denkmälergruppe zur Kenntnis genommen. Auch vor diesem

²⁸ D. Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms* (1987) Taf. 20, 663a; 27, 710a; 29, 742; 31, 762; F. Sinn, *Stadrömische Marmorurnen* (1987) Nr. 155 Taf. 33, 34; Nr. 365 Taf. 59b; Nr. 488 Taf. 74, 75; R. von Schaeuwen, *Römische Opfergeräte, ihre Verwendung im Kultus und in der Kunst*, *Archäologische Studien* 1 (1940) 15-24 Taf. 3, 1-4; A. V. Siebert, *Instrumenta Sacra* (1999) 32-36 Taf. 10-11; J. J. Dobbins, *RM* 99, 1992, 251-263.

²⁹ Brunsting 1976, 175-176. Einen Überblick zur Geschichte der Sammlung van Thoms gibt M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet The Hague* (1978) 22-33 im Zusammenhang mit der Daktyliothek des Grafen.

³⁰ F. Bastet-H. Brunsting, *Corpus Signorum Classicorum Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi*, Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden V (1982) 107; Les Antiquités du Cabinet du Comte de Thoms. Handschrift KB 72 A 20 in der Königlichen Bibliothek Den Haag. Daß bei Brunsting 1976, 175 der Name des Antikenhändlers 'Morioni' lautet, geht auf einen Druckfehler zurück. Für diesbezügliche Nachforschungen danke ich R. Halbertsma, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Brief vom 5. 8. 1999) sehr herzlich.

³¹ Die Herkunft des Reliefs aus der Sammlung van Thoms wurde von H. J. Dompierre de Chaufepié, der in der Zeit zwischen 1893-1911 an einer Geschichte über das Rijksmuseum van Oudheden arbeitete, bezweifelt. Und L. J. F. Janssen fragte in Unkenntnis der Erwerbungs- und Herkunftsangabe 'Rom', ob das Relief aus Athen kommen könne: Brunsting 1976, 178.

³² A. Furtwängler, *AM* 8, 1883, 367.

³³ Als weitere Literaturverweise erscheinen Reinach, *RR* II (1912) 428, 3 und *EA* 1864 (sic!, wobei es sich um einen republikanischen Männerkopf in Montpellier handelt).

Hintergrund ist es ausgeschlossen, an eine Fälschung zu denken. Interessant ist der 'wissenschaftliche' Kommentar, den Frederik van Thoms selbst zu seinem Relief abgibt: Er verweist auf Pausanias II 23,4, wo vom Periegeten ein sitzender Asklepios und eine stehende Hygieia in Argos beschrieben werden, marmorne Tempelkultbilder der Künstler Xenophilos und Straton. 'Voici', so van Thoms, 'exactement la description de mon bas relief'.³⁴

Schließt man nach den uns bekannten Fälschungen von vorgeblich antiken Reliefs, die es ja durchaus gibt, so lassen sich in der Regel eindeutige Verdachtsmomente ausmachen, die schließlich auch zur 'Entlarvung' als nachantike Schöpfungen beigetragen haben.³⁵ Dies gilt für Relieffälschungen der Renaissance ebenso wie für die in den zwanziger Jahren des 19. Jhs. entstandenen Fälschungen des neapolitanischen Bildhauers Vincenzo Monti.³⁶ Einen ersten Hinweis liefern oft schon Antiquaria, deren Gestaltung sich als nicht antik erweist. Verräterisch ist nicht zuletzt auch der Stil der Arbeit. Selbstverständlich ist der Fälscher bemüht, den Stil der jeweiligen Epoche in seiner Besonderheit nachzuahmen, doch wenn es ihm nicht in aller Konsequenz gelingt, ist das Endprodukt eine mehr oder weniger gut erkennbare Mischung aus antiken und nachantiken Stilelementen.³⁷ Eng verwandt mit den stilistischen Merkmalen sind Beobachtungen, die die handwerkliche Seite des Fälscherproduktes betreffen, sei es eine nichtantike Meißelarbeit oder eine andersartige technische Zurichtung, die suspekt erscheinen und auf die nachantike Entstehung einer Arbeit schließen lassen.³⁸

Welcher Art könnten nun die Argumente sein, die an der Echtheit bzw. an der antiken Entstehung des Leidener Asklepiosrelief zweifeln lassen? Es gibt weder antiquarische noch stilistische 'Schnitzer', noch entdeckt man technische Merkwürdigkeiten, anhand derer man das Relief als Fälschung klassifizieren müßte. Vom Format, das ebensowenig ungewöhnlich ist, war oben schon die Rede. Als ursprünglichen Kontext kann man sich das Ambiente eines Privathauses vorstellen.³⁹

Zu dem Fehlurteil, das über das Leidener Relief ausgesprochen wurde, kam es vermutlich aufgrund der genannten motivischen und stilistischen Probleme, auf die man zwangsläufig stößt, sobald man das Relief unter die Asklepiosweihungen klassischer Zeit einzureihen versucht. Dies muß verständlicherweise mißlingen. Daß es neben der Annahme einer Fälschung noch andere überlegenswerte Erwägungen gibt, die zu dem Ergebnis führen, in dem Relief eine eklektische Neuschöpfung und ein Produkt des römischen Klassizismus zu erkennen, war Ziel dieser Ausführungen. Nur so kann man der kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung dieses antiken Originals gerecht werden.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

Abb. 1: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Leiden Neg. Nr. X 470.

Abb. 2: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Neg. Nr. SK 8271.

Abb. 3: Photo K. Öhrlein (Würzburg) nach B. Krause, AA 1972, 251 Abb. 16.

Abb. 4: Photo K. Öhrlein nach J.J. Dobbins, RM 99, 1992, Taf. 73, 1.

INSTITUT FÜR ARCHÄOLOGIE DER UNIVERSITÄT
WÜRZBURG
RESIDENZPLATZ 2, TOR A
97070 WÜRZBURG

³⁴ Brunsting 1976, 176.

³⁵ Zum Thema 'Antikenfälschung' s. die zusammengetragene Literatur bei M. Fuchs, *In hoc etiam genere Graeciae nihil cedamus* (1999) 52 Anm. 197-203.

³⁶ E. Paul, *Die falsche Göttin. Geschichte der Antikenfälschung* (1962) 71-78 Abb. 29, 30; ders., *Gefälschte Antike von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart* (1981) 118-125. Abb. 96, 97, 99; H. Froning, *Marmor-Schmuckreliefs mit griechischen Mythen im 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (1981) 157-167 Taf. 63, 2; 64, 2.

³⁷ E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart* (1981) 21 Abb. 20.

³⁸ R. Wünsche in: Studien zur Klassischen Archäologie. *Festschrift F. Hiller* (1986) 211-219.

³⁹ Für Vergleichsbeispiele s. Froning a.O. 8-9.

Decorated Etruscan Stone Sarcophagi

A Chronological and Bibliographical Appendix to R. Herbig,
Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage (Berlin 1952)

L.B. van der Meer

Most Etruscan stone sarcophagi of the last four centuries B.C. have been published in a well illustrated catalogue by R. Herbig in 1952. Most of them have not been dated by him, or only very tentatively. Many articles, (hand)books on Etruscan art, corpora (*CIE*), dictionaries (*ET*, *ThesLE*) and the *LIMC* mention sarcophagi but usually assign them a very generic date if at all. The dates proposed by different scholars vary from twentyfive to one hundred and fifty years for individual sarcophagi.¹ It is difficult to find comprehensively and quickly the most reliable dates in recent literature. What follows, is intended therefore as an updated Appendix to Herbig's catalogue and some other publications, concerning sarcophagi, the chests of which are decorated with painted representations and/or scenes in relief. Since 1952 research carried out on tomb contents and new excavations of tombs have shed more light on chronology. It appears that the dates proposed by K.-P. Goethert, *Typologie und Chronologie der jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (diss. Berlin 1974) are too low.² The production of stone sarcophagi with decorated chests took place mainly between c. 350 and 200/180 B.C. Some exceptional items may be dated to around 400 B.C.³ After c. 200 B.C. chests of stone sarcophagi were rarely decorated. The study of sarcophagi is important because of the relationships between the production centres, stylistic developments and thematic shifts in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and the status and mentality of the deceased.

Using and calibrating the chronological studies by G. Colonna, of M. Moretti/A.M. Sgubini Moretti (eds.), *I Curvas di Tuscania* (1983), and many other specialist publications, based on tomb contents and/or formal, stylistic, antiquarian, thematic, epigraphic, palaeographic, and genealogical data I have tried to date, as far as possible,⁴ all known c. 150 decorated sarcophagus chests and pertinent lids. The chronological limit for such dating is a quarter of a century (c. one generation).⁵ I have also aimed to update the bibliography of every single sarcophagus, including dates which differ from the most reliable, recent research results. Apart from the data mentioned, historical events may provide a *terminus post* or *ante quem*. Sarcophagi with *Celtomachia* scenes can be

dated after the mighty battle between the Romans and a coalition of groups of Samnites, Umbrians, Etruscans and Gauls at Sentinum (Umbria) in 295 B.C. The Tomba della Pellegrina at Chiusi, belonging to a Sentinate family, contains sarcophagi and urns, all datable after c. 290 B.C. Two urns show *Celtomachies*, that, just like the name Sentinate, may refer to Sentinum, as suggested by Maggiani.⁶ Most sarcophagi from Vulci are datable before 280 B.C., when Rome conquered this city. The few sarcophagi from Orvieto, most probably to be identified with Volsinii veteres, can be dated to before the Roman destruction in 264 B.C.

The Appendix (see below) consists of four sections: Section H: sarcophagi published by R. Herbig;

Section G: sarcophagi published by K.-P. Goethert, but not mentioned by Herbig;

Section CU: sarcophagi edited by M. Moretti and A.M. Sgubini Moretti;

Section O: other sarcophagi not mentioned in sections H, G or CU.

Each catalogue number mentions respectively the place of preservation, the find-spot and, if known, the name of the tomb, data absent or incorrectly entered in former publications, the proposed date, the bibliography, and literature on the inscription(s), including H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte. Editio Minor I-II*, Tübingen 1991.⁷ Publications already cited by Herbig, are not repeated. All abbreviations of publications can be found in the Bibliography⁸ after the Appendix.

¹ Cristofani 1988, 71 n. 38. Cristofani 1989, 610 n. 49.

² The same can be said for the chronological studies of Thimme (1954; 1957). It seems that Steuernagel (1998) has averaged the high and low dates.

³ See below, Appendix H83. As for H22, see Colonna 1985, 121. Both should be dated, in my opinion, after c. 350 B.C.

⁴ Chests without relevant lids are difficult to date.

⁵ The clustering of sarcophagi with similar characteristics was done using dBase III+.

⁶ Maggiani 1990, 297-217. See also Colonna 1993, 346. H14 (from Chiusi) with a *Celtomachia* scene also belongs to a Sentinate. About *Celtomachiae* see also Maggiani, in *Artigianato* 1985, 119 and Steingräber 1998, 91-98.

⁷ Rix does not refer to Herbig (1952) or other archaeological publications on sarcophagi. My Appendix can also serve as supplement to Rix's *Konkordanz* in *ET* I, 246-320.

⁸ The Bibliography on Etruscan stone sarcophagi is as complete as possible.

Other abbreviations are: HS = *Hallensarkophagus*; HT-type = *Holztruhentypus*; PT = *Parastadentypus*; FT = *Fassadentypus*.

Bo = Bolsena; Bom = Bomarzo; Ch = Chiusi; Mu = Musarna; No = Norchia; Orv = Orvieto; S. Gi = San Giuliano; Ta = Tarquinia; Tu = Tuscania; Vit = Viterbo; Vo = Volterra; Vu = Vulci. L. = left. R. = right. Cap. = inscription in the capital alphabet (see below).

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

The development of decorated sarcophagus chests and lids can be broadly divided in 6 periods: from c. 350 to 300, the period around 300, from c. 300 to 275, from c. 275 to 250, from c. 250 to 225, and from c. 225 until the beginning of the second century B.C.

a) The period from c. 350 to 300 B.C.

Between c. 350 and 300 B.C. the lids have a gable-roof or they show figures lying flat on their back. Many chests belong to the *Holzkasten-* or *Holztruhentypus* (HT-type), which imitate wooden chests. The form may be of Greek origin; it is known from many fourth century B.C. items from Kerch and Alexandria (Watzinger 1905). On one or more sides is a small rectangular recession which originally may have had a painted decoration (cf. O5). Funerary stone beds in the Tomba Giglioli at Tarquinia offer an interesting point of reference. The wallpaintings in the tomb have been dated by Steingraber to the second half of the fourth century B.C.

To the *Holztruhen*-type belong: H22 (Orv), H62 (Bom), H72 (Orv), H74 (Ch), H84 (Bom), H92, H93, H94 (Ta), H102, H103, H104, H127, H193, G104 (No), 05 (S. Gi), 06 (No). H90 (S. Gi) is a transitional type. Its short sides have recessions; its front shows figures in appliqué style between two cornices. With possibly one exception⁹ lids on HT-sarcophagi have a gable-roof or show flatly extended recumbent figures. One item with a gabled lid has been found in the Sperandio necropolis at Perugia.¹⁰ Three main themes occur, sometimes together, on one chest: the Amazonomachy (sometimes painted), the *Tierkampf* (animal battle), and antithetical death demons on the left and right of the long side(s) of a chest. These themes disappear after c. 300 B.C.

One of the earliest sarcophagi with painted Amazonomachies may be H121, the so called Priest Sarcophagus from Tarquinia. The head of the lid figure, akin to that of lid figures on Punic sarcophagi in Carthage, can be compared with middle fourth century Greek portrait sculpture. One of the latest is G15, from the Tomba delle Iscrizioni at Vulci, a

Parastadensarkophagus (PT), found with fragments of a gable-roof lid. The chest is decorated in relief on four sides. The scenes on the long sides are flanked by winged, male demons. It was found together with two Faliscan red figure vases, which can be dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.

To the Parastaden-type belong: H70 (Vu), H73 (Orv), H99 (Ta), H100 (Ta), G15 (Vu). The latest Amazonomachy sarcophagi are H120, the so called Sarcophagus of the Magnate, with his head slightly turned to the viewer, and CU I, 2, the lid figure of which also turns his head to the observer. The folds of the mantle on his left stretched leg are straight (cf. hereafter H193).

The second theme, the *Tierkampf*, occurs in other Etruscan art genres. It is found on tomb paintings, vase paintings, the Bronze Lamp of Cortona, and on Apulian red figure vases from after c. 350 B.C. M. Cristofani dated the *Tierkampf* paintings in the Tomba François between c. 340 and 310 B.C. The latest examples of *Tierkampf* sarcophagi are H84 and H193 which show lid figures slightly turning their head and upper body towards the observer. They may be dated at the end of the fourth century B.C. H193 shows a pattern of straight folds on the left stretched leg of the lid figure. This pattern is characteristic of a group of sarcophagi belonging to the period of c. 300 to 275 B.C. H84 is a HT-type; on the left and right of the long sides winged demons in high relief are frontally rendered. Especially interesting is G76 (without lid) from the Tomba delle Amazzoni at Tuscania. Under the sarcophagus an *aes grave* of 262 gram was found. This coin, from a local mint, is dated between c. 300 and 280 B.C. It does not necessarily provide a *terminus post quem* as K.-P. Goethert proposes. It indicates the moment in or after which the chest was placed in the tomb. For stylistic reasons A.M. Sgubini Moretti dates the chest between c. 330 and 320 B.C. It must have been made during the lifetime of the deceased, a custom known from Roman sarcophagi too. The chest shows tiny columns at three corners. It seems to be a forerunner of the so called *Hallensarkophagus* (HS), which were made around 300 B.C. (see below).

The third theme, antithetical demons rendered in appliqué style on the left and right of the long side(s) of the chests, occurs on H62 (HT-type), H70 (PT), H73, H84, H188, H241, G105, O1 and O6. The lids usually show flat lying figures or a gable-roof. On H72 and H84 the heads are turned to the

⁹ Martelli 1975, fig. 3 (a lost sarcophagus from San Giuliano that can be dated between c. 275 and 250 B.C., if the lid belongs to the chest).

¹⁰ Savignoni 1900, 555, fig. 3 (with tomb content; c. 325-300 B.C.). Van der Meer 1995, 194, 200 n. 24.

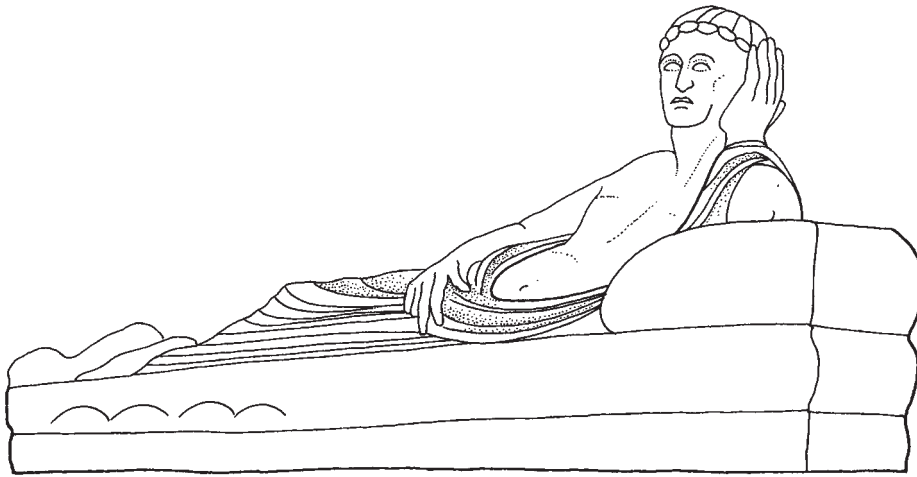


Fig. 1. Lid figure (H31), c. 300-275 B.C. (drawing: Erick van Driel).

viewer. H62 was found in the Grotta Dipinta at Bomarzo, the tomb paintings of which have been dated by Steingraber to the end of the fourth century B.C.

The rendering of figures in à jour reliefs is a technique known from Greek wooden sarcophagi, on which appliques in different material were attached. The following chests show this appliqué style: H96, H98, H99, H188, H193, H241 and O6.

b) The period around 300 B.C.

The so called *Hallensarkophage* belong to this period.¹¹ They show reliefs on one, three or four sides. On the corners are columns or pillars, with or without capitals (or rudimental ones). The foursided sarcophagus probably stood in the centre of the tomb so that all sides could be seen. Belonging to the group: H6 (Vu), H27 (Ta), H48a (Ta), H59 (Tu, transition-type), H61 (Tu; transition-type), H63 (Ta), H79 (Ta), H80, H85 (Tu), H91 (?), H119 (Ta), G76 (Tu). H48a, H59 and H61 show the transition to the frieze or architectonic sarcophagi. Most chests show epic and tragical themes. The lid figure of H63 lies flat, the heads on H59 and H80 are turned to the viewer, and lid figure H61 is recumbent. The *Hallensarkophage* belong to a period of transition, around 300 B.C., in which the lid figure is gradually turning towards the observer. H26 shows the transition from HS to the *Fassadentypus*. Although some Chiusine chests show columns or pillars, their characteristics differ from those at Vulci, Tarquinia and Tuscania. H14 (Ch) and H19 (Ch) date from c. 250 and c. 225 respectively.

Hereafter the developments during the third century B.C. are sketched. They hold good for sarcophagi

from Vulci, Tarquinia, Tuscania, Viterbo, Bolsena, Musarna, Norchia, and San Giuliano, but not for those from Orvieto, Chiusi and Volterra, which have their own local characteristics. While mythological themes are popular in the fourth century B.C., underworld-, battle-, *Celtomachia*-, procession- and so called heraldic or antithetical scenes are preferred in the third century B.C.

c) The period between c. 300 and 275 B.C.

In this period the lid figures are recumbent (*Fassadentypus*). The earliest figures have their right leg raised but their left leg still stretched, with characteristic straight, horizontal, cannelure-like mantle folds, which are shown by earlier supine lid figures (cf. H31 and H137). The border of the lid may show a notched bedcover (Fig. 1). The chest presents a relief between two horizontal friezes (Frieze- or Architectonic type) or a frame (*Fassadentypus*). The figures are rendered in profile. Inscriptions may have an indentation.

d) The period between c. 275 and 250 B.C.

The recumbent lid figures may show a particular finely rendered mantle pattern, which opens like two shells, one over the left and the other over the right leg (H32, H33, H35 (Tu), H52 (Bo), H65, H66, H67 (Tu), H111, H149 (Ta), H166, H179 (Tu), H195 (No), H196 (Vit), H213, H240 (Mu), G30 (Ta)).¹² The border of the lid usually shows a notched bedcover

¹¹ Van der Meer 1993, 379-393.

¹² The strong stylistic consistencies in this group are an indication that the lids were made by one or more itinerant artisans. Another lid (without chest) has been found near Viterbo (*StEtr* 45 (1977) tav. 18,3).

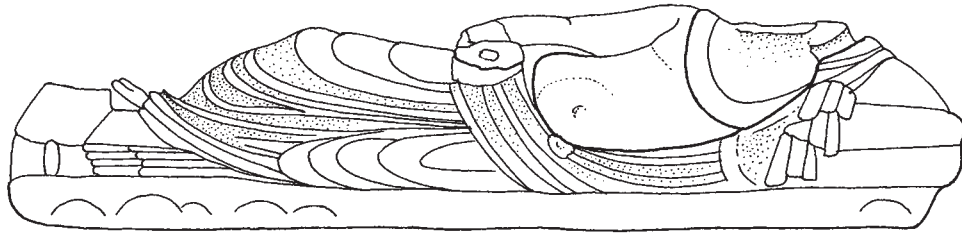


Fig. 2. Lid figure (H240), c. 275-250 B.C. (drawing: Erick van Driel).

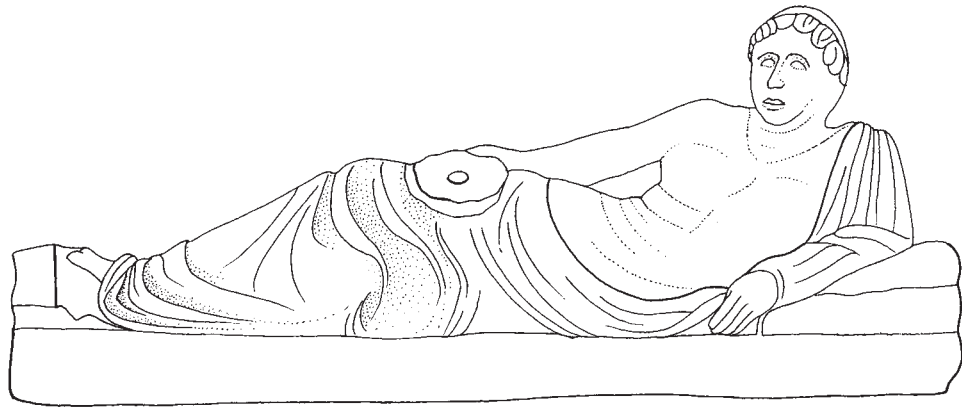


Fig. 3. Lid figure (H69), c. 250-225 B.C. (drawing: Erick van Driel).

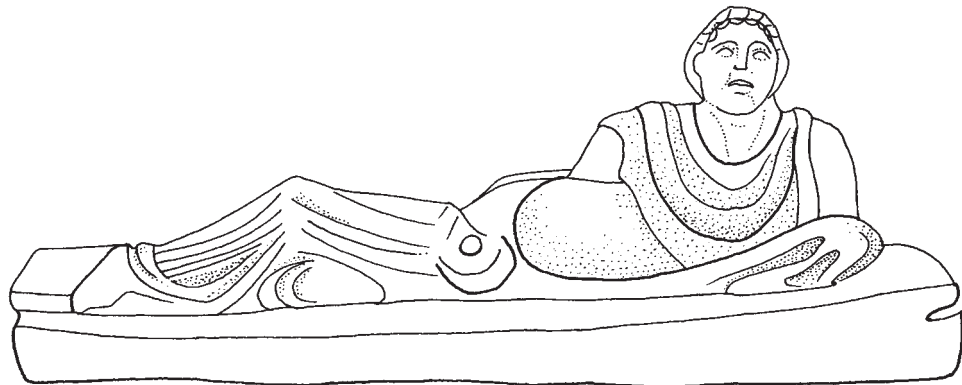


Fig. 4. Lid figure (H112), c. 225-200 B.C. (drawing: Erick van Driel).

(Fig. 2). The inscriptions may be without indentation. Until c. 250/225 B.C. they may be rendered in capital letters, with a characteristic rhomboid theta and angular letter c.¹³ From c. 275 B.C. onward female lid figures may wear their mantle over the back of their heads (H65). The figures of the chests are usually rendered in profile. Some chests (H211, G37, CU II, 7) show a painted *taenia*, a motif that also occurs in the paintings of the Tomba dei Festoni at Tarquinia, which is dated by Steingraber between c. 275 and 250 B.C. The motif is present on an alabaster urn from Chiusi, which can be dated to the same period.¹⁴

e) *The period between c. 250 and 225 B.C.*

This period marks the beginning of deterioration and loss of quality, both of lid figures and of chest reliefs.¹⁵ The mantle folds spreading from the right raised knee are draped in a realistic way, with many parallel, round undulations around the left leg (Fig. 3; cf. H30, H69, H71c). The figures of the chest reliefs are often turned to the viewer. Inscriptions may start at the far right of the chest or lid. Capital letters become rare (only visible on H86, H205 and G70).

f) *The period between c. 225 and the beginning of the second century B.C.*

In the decennia around 200 B.C. there is a final loss of artistic quality. The lid figures show sharp, unnatural mantle folds outspread like a tent from the top of the raised right knee (cf. H112). The male figures may wear a *tunica* over the previously nude upper body (Fig. 4). The tent-like pattern is present too on lids from the second century B.C., belonging to undecorated chests (cf. H189). The head of the lid figure may be turned slightly to the right. The figures on the chest are often frontally rendered, in shallow relief. Inscriptions may start at the far right of the chest. Letters in the capital alphabet are absent.

APPENDIX

Section H: R. Herbig (1952)

H3. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, E 73
Norchia, Tomba Lattanzi (Excavation 1853). Tomb of the Churle family. See also H188 and H193. Triton (*Meermann*) facing a man with Phrygian cap, man with a Phrygian cap facing Triton (*Meermann*). 300 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paola 1978, 381-2. Boosen 1986, 84 no. 29; 131 (3rd cent. B.C.). Colonna 1991, 123, 131 n. 70 no. 3; 131 n. 71. Maggiani 1998, 135, no. 48.

Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.171; CIE 5874 (300-250 B.C.). CIE II, I,4 tav. 34 (father of H188; the father died at the age of 75; his son at 23).

H4. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, E 74
Chiusi.

Front: winged *ketos*, frontal Skylla, winged *ketos*; short sides: winged griffin.
300 B.C.

Lit.: Boosen 1986, 29, no. 23. Colonna 1993, 342-4.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix Cl 1.107. CIE I, 1221.

H5. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1975:799
Vulci, Necropolis Ponte Rotto (or environment)
Nenfro

Front: wedding procession or meeting in the underworld; l. short side: man on a *biga* moving to left; r. short side: two women on a *biga* moving to right and Vanth.

300-280 B.C. (Comstock)

Lit.: Comstock 1976, 247-9. Brendel 1978, 381 (350 B.C.). Jannot 1988, 329-330. Cristofani 1989, 307 n. 38 (375-350 B.C.). Nielsen 1990, 51-2, fig. 5a-d. Holliday 1990, 77, fig. 2-4. Nielsen 1992, 119-120, 127 no. 12 (late fourth cent. B.C.).

Inscr.: Rix Vc 1.91. CIE 5312.

H6. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 88.145
Vulci

Marble-like limestone

Long side A: Amazonomachy; long side B: battle scene; short sides: *Tierkampf*.

330-300 B.C. (Comstock)

Lit.: Comstock 1976, 244. Brendel 1978, 382 (350 B.C.). Colonna 1980, 161-170. Cristofani 1989, 607 n. 38 (350-325 B.C.). Nielsen 1990, 51-2, fig. 4a-d. Holliday 1990, 79 no. 32. Nielsen 1992, 119-120, 127 no. 11 (350 B.C.). LIMC I Amazones Etruscae 35 (E. Mavleev).

Inscr. (cap.): Rix Vc 1.92. CIE 5313.

H12. Chiusi, Museo Arch. Naz. 973 (63024)
Chiusi.

Celtomachia (?).

260-250 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1993, 346 n. 50.

H13. Chiusi, Museo Arch. Naz. 2272
Chiusi (Sarteano, according to Maggiani)
Battle in a sanctuary.
225-200 B.C.

¹³ Maggiani 1984, 220-221.

¹⁴ Maggiani 1990, 215, fig. 22 no. 6, tav. IV,2.

¹⁵ At Tuscania the production of terracotta sarcophagi starts around 250 B.C.; see Gentili 1994, 125, 187-188.

Lit.: Maggiani, in: *Artigianato* 1985, 119 n. 7 (c. 250-240 B.C.). Colonna 1993, 354 n. 90. Steuernagel 1998, 111-112, 217 no. 305 (225-175 B.C.).

H14. Chiusi, Museo Arch. Naz. 752 (92895/4)
Chiusi, Colle del Vescovo
N.B. Head of lid figure is not related.
Celtomachia; r. short side: a Gaul on a *biga* moving to left.
250-230 B.C.
Lit.: Goethert 1974, 129. Höckmann 1991, 225 no. 7 (200-150 B.C.), 48, 1.2. Colonna 1993, 351-3 n. 71.
Inscr.: Rix Cl 1.164. *CIE* 1190.

H15. Chiusi, Museo Arch. Naz. 860 (60325)
Chiusi region
Ketos, tree, horseman; Gaul? (unfinished relief).
200-180 B.C.
Lit.: Boosen 1986, 189 no. 17. Colonna 1993, 359 n. 119 (with bibliography).
Inscr.: Rix Cl 1.2517. *CIE* 905.

H16. Civitavecchia 135 (chest) 136 (lid)
Tuscania?
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
225-200 B.C. (lid).

H19. Florence, Museo Archeologico 77977
Chiusi
Celtomachia.
225-200 B.C.
Lit.: Goethert 1974, 229, 231, 233 (140-100 B.C.). Maggiani, in: *Artigianato* 1985, 119 n. 8 (250-240 B.C.). Höckmann 1991, 204, 226 no. 8, pl. 47, 2 (140-100 B.C.). Colonna 1993, 355 n. 91 (with bibliography). Steuernagel 1998, 95-96, 216 no. 293 (200-150 B.C.).

H23. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 75268
Tarquinia
Long side A: winged snake, woman with scroll, tree, Turms/Hermes, winged snake (in the underworld); long side B: woman and man playing *kottabos* between three winged snakes (in the underworld); l. short side: Lasa with *taenia* gliding to the right; r. short side: Lasa with *alabastron* and perfume dipper gliding to the right.
350-300 B.C.
Lit.: Del Chiaro, *StEtr* 38 (1970) 99-100. Krauskopf 1987, 52, 79-80. Nielsen 1990, 58. Massa-Pairault 1997, 336-7. *LIMC* VI,1 Lasa no. 46.

H25. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 75273 (chest)
Tarquinia
Judgment in the underworld (?).

250-200 B.C.
Lit.: Cristofani 1989, 610 n. 48 (225-200 B.C.).

H26. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 75269
Tarquinia
Battle scene.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: *Civiltà* 1985, 327-8 no. 14.1.1 (S. Bruni: c. 250 B.C.). Höckmann 1991, 204 n. 17.

H27. Florence, Museo Archeologico
'Sarcophagus of the Amazons'
Tarquinia
Marble
All sides: Amazonomachies (paintings); tympana of lid: Aktaion (reliefs).
325 B.C.
Lit.: Bocci 1960, 109-125 (c. 350-325 B.C.). Martelli 1975, 13 n. 20. Van der Meer 1985, 79-80. *Civiltà* 1985, 320-322 (L. Fedeli: c. 330 B.C.). Nielsen 1989, 137-138. R.L. Lacy, in : De Puma 1994, 165-171, 174 n. 26. *LIMC* I,1 Aktaion no. 19 (L. Guimond: 370-360 B.C.). *LIMC* I,1 Amazones Etruscae no. 29 (E. Mavleev). Camporeale 2000, pl. 116 (350-325 B.C.). Maggiani 1998, 133, no. 14.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.50/51. *CIE* 5451a/b.

H29. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 84278
Tuscania, loc. Rosavecchia, Tomb 1 of the Statlane
Skylla with stone block in her hands.
275 B.C.
Lit.: Boosen 1986, 24 no. 8. Gentili 1994, 52-3.

H30. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 84286
Tuscania, Tomb 1 of the Statlane
Ketos, Gorgoneion (?), *ketos*.
250-225 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1991, 121 n. 55. Maggiani 1998, 134, no. 37.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.32. *CIE* 5720. *TLE* 190 (son of *H31*).

H31. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 84276 (*Fig. 5*)
Tuscania, Tomb 1 of the Statlane
Ketos, *patera umbilicata*, *ketos*.
300-275 B.C.
Lit.: *Civiltà* 1985, 328 no. 14.1.2 (S. Bruni). Colonna 1991, 129 n. 55 (c. 275 B.C.).
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.41. *CIE* 5730/1. *TLE* 188 (father of *H30*).

H32. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini 84274



Fig. 5. H31 (picture by the author).

Tuscania, Tomb 1 of the Statlane

Ketos, flower, *ketos*.

275-250 B.C.

Lit.: Boosen 1986, 199 no. 53. *Civiltà* 1985, 329 no. 14.1.3 (S. Bruni: 175 B.C., probably printing error. One should read: c. 275 B.C.).

Inscr.: Rix AT 1.40. *CIE* 5728. *TLE* 191.

H35. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini

Tuscania, Tomb 1 of the Statlane

Ketos, mask, dolphin (incised; unfinished relief).

275-250 B.C.

H47. Florence, Museo Archeologico, Villa Corsini

Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana

Two Erotes pouring wine from an *oinochoe* into a *patera*.

300-275 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1978, 107 J 12.

H48a. Florence, Museo Archeologico 75218

Tarquinia

Death demon, deceased man, Charun (*HS*).

300-275 B.C.

H49. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.I.N. 57
Vulci, necropolis Ponte Rotto

Front: meeting in the underworld; l. short side: horseman and female death demon moving to right; r. short side: griffin above snake moving to left.

350-300 B.C.

Lit.: Paschinger 1989, 57-61. Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 43-7 no. 7 (with bibliography). Massa-Pairault 1997, 339. Colonna 1997, 183 n. 51 (350 B.C.). Inscr.: *Vanth* on lid figure suggested by Paschinger rejected by Moltesen/Nielsen. *StEtr* 56 (1991) 291-298.

H50. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.I.N. 124
Tarquinia

Long sides: *Tierkampf*; r. short side: deceased woman and two family members; l. short side: two winged death demons both with a writing table or bookscroll.

325-300 B.C.

Lit.: Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 48-51 no. 8 (with bibl.; 300 B.C.). Roncalli 1996, 51-52, fig. 6-8.

H51. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.I.N. 429

Find-spot: unknown (said to come from Montefiascone or Bolsena)

Ketos, *ketos*.

280-270 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1993, 346 n. 46. Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 60-61 no. 14 (200-150 B.C.).

H59. Lisbon

Tuscania, Unknown tomb of the Vipinana

Lid belongs to H61. Lid of H61 belongs to H59. Battle scene, with winged death demon.

325-300 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1978, 107 ad J10. Blanck 1992, 8-10. Colonna 107 ad J10.

Inscr.: Rix AT 1.21. *CIE* II,I,4, 5703 (with bibl.).

- H60.** Lisbon
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Head not pertaining to lid.
Boys (probably Erotes) with *pedum* on *ketoi* flanking mask with Phrygian cap.
300-275 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 108 J20. Sgubini Moretti 1991, 73 (280-270 B.C.). Blanck 1992, 10-11. *LIMC* III,1 Eros no. 315.
- H61.** Lisbon
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Lid belongs to *H59*. Lid of *H59* belongs to *H61*. Sacrifice of the Trojans (H. Blanck: Neoptolemos killing Polites).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 107 J 10. Blanck 1992, 6-8. Van der Meer 1993, 389 n. 48. Zevi 1996, 121-124. *LIMC* I,1 Achle no. 93 (G. Camporeale).
- H62.** London, British Museum D 20
Bomarzo, Grotta Dipinta (Tomb of the Urinates)
Long sides: demons flanking groove with floral decoration and central head; l. short side: *Tierkampf*, vegetal ornament; r. short side: floral element (*HT*-type).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 20. Baglione 1976, tav. 8.1. Steingraber 1984, 265 no. 2 (tomb painting c. 300 B.C.). *LIMC* III, 1, Charon/Charun 13 (E. Mavleev)
Inscr.: Rix AH 1.26; *CIE* 5632.
- H63.** London, British Museum D 21
Lid *H64* belonging to *H63*?
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Curunas (not: Tarquinia, Tomba delle Bighe)
Long side A: Menelaos frightening Helena; altar; Trojan prisoners of war; Eteokles and Polyneikes, Oidipous; Iokaste.
Long side B: battle between Greeks and Trojans; l. short side: Aias facing Odysseus; r. short side: sacrifice of Iphigenia.
300 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 21. Krauskopf 1974, 53-6. Brendel 1978, 385-6. Von Freytag 1986, 43-7, 53, 91, 150, 159, 187. Colonna 1991, 130 n. 61. Van der Meer 1993, 382, 392. Zevi 1996, 121-124. Steuernagel 1998, 27, 190 no. 5. De Angelis 1999, 60-61, fig. 8-9. *LIMC* I,1 Aias I, 79; I,1 Aias II, 101; IV,1 Eteokles 20; V,1 Iokaste 20. Maggiani 1998, 134, no. 26.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.196. *NRIE* 286. *TLE* 732.
- H64.** London, British Museum D 22
Tarquinia, Tomba del Triclinio (unprobable find-spot according to Colonna)
Lid belonging to *H63*?
300 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 22. Bartoloni 1987, 239. Nielsen 1990, 60-61. Colonna 1991, 122, 130 n. 61 (340-330 B.C.).
- H65.** London, British Museum D 23/24
Tuscania region
Dolphin, head of Skylla, dolphin (modern copy in gypsum).
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 23/24.
- H66.** London, British Museum D 25/26
Tuscania, Rosavecchia, Tomb of the Atna
Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left, led by male winged death demon.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 25/26. Lambrechts 1959, 133 no. 7, pl. 7. Colonna 1978, 113 n. 123. Colonna 1980, 161-170. Maggiani 1998, 113 n. 123 (300-275 B.C.). Holliday 1990, 73-93 (150 B.C.).
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.61. *CIE* 5755.
- H67.** London, British Museum D 27/28
Tuscania, Rosavecchia, Tomb of the Atna
Ketos, nude male, Skylla, nude male with shield, *ketos*.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 27/28. Boosen 1986, 30 no. 25. Colonna 1991, 131 n. 70 no. 4. Colonna 1993, 346 n. 46.
- H68.** London, British Museum D 29/30
Tuscania, Rosavecchia, Tomb of the Atna
Boys (probably Erotes) with *pedum* on *ketoi* flanking a bearded head with Phrygian cap.
300-275 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 29/30. Boosen 1986, 204 no. 71.
- H69.** London, British Museum D 31/32
Tuscania, Rosavecchia, Tomb of the Atna
Ketos, *patera*, *ketos*.
250-225 B.C.
Lit.: Pryce 1931, D 31/32. Colonna 1978, 113. Boosen 1986, 199 no. 54.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.20. *CIE* 5702.
- H70.** Musignano, lost
Vulci
Front: meeting in the Underworld assisted at either sides by a winged Charun with oar (l.) and a winged Charun with hammer (r.). Short sides: griffin (PT).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Bonamici 1980, 11 n. 42 (c. 300-250 B.C.). Bartoloni 1987, 239 n. 42. Nielsen 1990, 59. *LIMC* III,1 Charon/Charun 9 (E. Mavleev/I. Krauskopf).

H71a+c. Musignano, lost
Vulci

H71a (chest)+*c* (lid):

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left; male death demon behind horses.

250-225 B.C.

Lit.:

H71a+c: Lambrechts 1959, 132 no. 6. Bonamici 1980, 24 n. 137 (ca. 300-250 B.C.). Maggiani 1998, 128 (300-280 B.C.).

Inscr.: *H71a*: Rix Vc 1.95. *CIE* 5317.

Inscr.: *H71c*: Rix Vc 1.94. *CIE* 5316 (son of *H71b*).

H71b. (chest)

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left.

275-250 B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 128 no. 3. Colonna 1980, 165 n. 18. Maggiani 1998, 128 (300-280 B.C.).

Inscr.: Rix Vc 1.93. *CIE* 5315 (father of *H71c*).

H72. Orvieto, Museo Faina

Orvieto

Male death demon on the left and female death demon on the right (*HT*-Type).

300 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1985, 122-3 n. 88. Jannot 1997, 154.

H73. Orvieto, Museo Faina

Torre San Severo

Long side A: sacrifice of Trojans, flanked by female death demons. Long side B: sacrifice of Polyxena, sided by male death demons. L. short side: Odysseus threatening Kirke. R. short side: Odysseus slaughtering a ram (PT).

300 B.C.

Lit.: Cagiano de Azevedo, M, *RM* 77 (1970) 10-18 (contests authenticity). Del Chiaro, *StEtr* 38 (1970) 100. Harari 1980, 118 n. 63. Blanck 1982, n. 39. Emiliozzi 1982, 37. Colonna 1985, 121-3. Van der Meer 1985, 80. Colonna 1991, 118 n. 15, 148. Colonna 1993, 121-2, n. 85-6. Zevi 1996, 121-124. Roncalli 1997, 48-9. Steuernagel 1998, 22-24, 189 no. 3 (350-300 B.C.). *LIMC* I,1 Achle 92; III,1 Charon/Charun 8; *LIMC* IV,1 Hades/Aita, Calu 10; *LIMC* VI,1 Odysseus/Uthuze 74, 82. *LIMC* VII,1 Polyxena 32.

H76. Palermo, Museo Nazionale N.I. 8464

Chiusi

Culśu, Vanth and members of the Afunei family (in or near the underworld).

200 B.C.

Lit.: *Civiltà* 1985, 305 (before 150 B.C.). Krauskopf 1986, 157 (with bibl.). Nielsen 1989b, 142-3. Massa-Pairault 1990, 333-341. Colonna 1991, 131 n. 70 no. 10; 124, 133 n. 84. Colonna 1993, 358-9,

364. *LIMC* III,1 Culśu 1 (I. Krauskopf: 150-100 B.C.). Jannot 1997, 151.

Inscr.: Rix Cl 7.4. *CIE* 1812.

H77. Palermo, Museo Nazionale N.I. 8463

Chiusi

Achilles and Troilos.

225-200 B.C.

Lit.: Nielsen 1989b, 142. Colonna 1991, 123. Colonna 1993, 354 n. 87. *LIMC* I,1 Achle 34 (G. Camporeale: 200-150 B.C.).

Inscr.: Rix Cl 1.1261. *CIE* 1760.

H78. Palermo, Museo Nazionale N.I. 8470

Chiusi

Front: battle scene. Short sides: centaur.

250-225 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1993, 351 n. 72. Steuernagel 1998, 101, 217 no. 304, pl. 49,3 (225-175 B.C.).

H79. Rome. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 14561

Sarcophagus of the Poet

Tarquinia

Lid not belonging to the chest.

Long side A: Klytaimnestra's death. Long side B: Eteokles facing Polyneikes. L. short side: Orestes and Telephos. R. short side: the sacrifice of Iphigeneia or Polyxena.

300 B.C. (chest)

Lit.: Helbig 1963, 476 no. 617. Ronzitti Orsolini 1971, 16. Krauskopf 1974, 53-56. Roncalli 1979, 109. Von Freytag 1986, 32, 46, 147, 187. Van der Meer 1991, 381, 392. Colonna 1991, 123 n. 73. Steuernagel 1998, 51, 196 no. 69 (325-275 B.C.). *LIMC* I,1 Agamemnon 21; I,1 Aigisthos 30; III,1 Erinys 30, 92; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 2, 19; *LIMC* V,1 Iokaste 19; *LIMC* VII,1 Orestes 58; VII,1 Polyxena 42.

H80. Rome. Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 27

Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana

The pertaining lid is *H48*.

Front: the death of the Niobids. L. short side: centauromachy. R. short side: Achilles dragging Hektor.

300 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna 1978, 105 J.I. Sgubini Moretti 1991, 73 (310-300 B.C.). Van der Meer 1993, 389, 392. *LIMC* II,1 Apollo/Aplu 33 (I. Krauskopf); II,1 Artemis/Artumes 52; VI,1 Niobidi 26 (W. Geominy).

H81. Rome. Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 65

Tuscania

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to right.

300-275 B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 78-79 no. 35. Morandi 1986, 135-142 (300-250 B.C.). Holliday 1990, 83-4, fig. 9. Maggiani 1998, 128.

Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.1. *CIE* 5683. *TLE* 195.

H83. Rome. Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 59
Cerveteri, Tomb of the Sarcophagi
Front: procession moving to right (man on a *biga*,
couple, musicians). R. short side: man with *lituus*,
two boys, musician.
350-300 B.C.
Lit.: Martelli 1975, 13 n. 25. Roncalli 1978/80, 5
(400-300 B.C.). Brendel 1978, 324 (400 B.C.).
Roncalli 1979, 105. Proietti 1986, 219 (400 B.C.).
Holliday 1990, 75, fig. 1.

H84. Rome. Villa Giulia 55693
Bomarzo, necropolis Pianmano
Long sides: female demon on left and male demon
at right corner; *Tierkampf* below. Short sides:
Tierkampf (*HT*-type).
300 B.C.
Lit.: Baglione 1976, tav. 8.2. Colonna 1997, 172
(350-325 B.C.).

H85. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico. Formerly:
Rome, Villa Giulia 15531
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Long side A: altar scene (sacrifice, ritual burial, or
Epigono). Side B: Danaids. L. short side: murder
scene. R. short side: the sacrifice of Iphigenia.
300 B.C.
Lit.: Helbig III, 1969, 474 no. 2495. Colonna 1978,
107 J. 14. Van der Meer 1991, 382-9, 392. Sgubini
Moretti 1991, 73 (310-300 B.C.). Steuernagel 1998,
28, 190 no. 7 (325-275 B.C.). *LIMC* I,1
Agamemnon 40 (I. Krauskopf); II,1 Ares/Laran 15
(E. Simon); III,1 Epigono 5 (U. Finster-Hotz); V,1
Kalchas 25 (V. Saladino); VI, 1 Manto 4 (I.
Krauskopf).
Inscr.: Colonna 1978, 107 J14 ([eca] thanchv[vilus]/
naxuxual [—]).

H86. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico. Formerly:
Rome, Villa Giulia 15709 (= lid)
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Lid not belonging to chest.
Boys riding on *ketoi* beside a *patera umbilicata*.
250-225 B.C. (chest); 200-100 B.C. (lid)
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 106 J 4 (chest). Colonna Di
Paolo/Colonna 1978, 385 (lid: c. 200-100 B.C.).
Boosen 1986, 204 no. 73.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.15. *CIE* 5697 (chest); Rix AT
1.64. *CIE* 5757 (lid). *StEtr* 34 (1964) 363 no. 1.

H87. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico. Formerly:
Rome, Villa Giulia 14214. Front of chest
Tuscania
Ketos, rosette, *ketos*.

280-270 B.C.

Inscr.: Rix AT 1.72. *CIE* 5767. *StEtr* 34, 1966, 363-
364 no. 2.

H89. Vulci, Antiquario. Formerly: Rome, Villa Giulia
Vulci
Female death demon with attached wings; part of a
procession (of a magistrate).
300-250 B.C.

H89a-b. Vulci, Antiquario (tympana of lids) Rome.
Villa Giulia.
Vulci
Antithetical figures
300 B.C.
Lit.: Bonamici 1980, 19 n. 120. Zancani Montuoro,
RdA 2(1979) 28.

H90. Rome, private collection
S. Giuliano, loc. Cenale, Tomb of Thansina
Female death demon with snakes on the left, horse-
man, Charun with hammer moving to right (*HT*-type
as for short sides).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Martelli 1975, 10, fig. 4. Colonna Di Paolo/
Colonna 1978, 375 B II.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.194. *CIE* 5882.

H91. Rome?
Find-spot: unknown
Battle scene.
300 B.C.

H94. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9888
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Puleas
Unknown theme (painting).
225 B.C. or later
Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 16 no. 1.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.18. *CIE* 5431 (son of *H111*).

H96. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9874
Tarquinia, necropolis Monterozzi
Long sides A and B: hunting scenes; Arimasps facing
griffin. L. short side: Charun and another male death
demon. R. short side: unfinished (appliqué style).
350-300 B.C.
Lit.: De Haan-van de Wiel 1970, 128 fig. 15. Van der
Meer 1982, 89, fig. 7. Camporeale 1984, 158 no. 2a-
b. *LIMC* III,1 Charon/Charun 110 (E. Mavleev/I.
Krauskopf).

H97. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9789
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Verst(a)rcnie (see also *H98*,
H99, *H100*, *H138* [lid], *H139* [lid])
Long sides: hunting scene (painting). Short sides:
hunting scene (painting).

350-300 B.C.

Lit.: Camporeale 1984, 145 no. 4.

H98. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9887
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Verst(a)rcnie (see also *H97*,
H99, *H100*, *H138*, *H139*)

Long sides: *Tierkampf*. Short sides: Gorgoneion
(appliqué style).

325-300 B.C.

Lit.: Bartoloni 1987, 239. Roncalli 1996, 51, fig. 5.
LIMC IV,1 Gorgones (in Etruria) 39 (I. Krauskopf:
300-250 B.C.).

H99. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9882
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Verst(a)rcnie (see also *H97*,
H98, *H100*, *H138*, *H139*)

Long sides: *Tierkampf* flanked by winged, female
death demons. Short sides: Gorgoneion (appliqué
style).

325-300 B.C.

Lit.: Bartoloni 1987, 239. Nielsen 1989b, 132. Roncalli
1996, 50-51, fig. 4. *LIMC* IV,1 Gorgones (in Etruria)
40.

H100. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9886
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Verst(a)rcnie (see also *H97*,
H98, *H99*, *H138*, *H139*)

Long sides: *Tierkampf* flanked by winged, female
death demons. Short sides: two antithetical, sitting,
winged sphinxes, sided by female, winged demons.
325-300 B.C.

Lit.: Bartoloni 1987, 240.

H108. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1419
Tarquinia

Front: hippocampus, Gorgoneion, hippocampus.
L. short side: frontally rendered, female death demon.
250 B.C.

Lit.: Boosen 1986, 156 no. 69 (second century B.C.).

H109. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1420
Tarquinia, Tomb III of the Camna

Front: Skylla and dolphin. R. short side: female death
demon.

250-225 B.C.

Lit.: Goethert 1974, 255-6. Boosen 1986, 26, no. 12
(probably 2nd cent. B.C.). Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988,
13-4, no. 1 (230-200 B.C.). Colonna 1991, 136-7.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.185. *CIE* 5473 (mother of *H112*).

H110. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9791
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Pulenas

Ketos, *patera umbilicata*, *ketos* (unfinished).

250-225 B.C.

Lit.: Boosen 1986, 199 no. 54 (2nd cent. B.C.). Cataldi,
in: Boitani 1988, 17, no. 3 (200-150 B.C.).

H111. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9804

Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas

Tarquinia, Tomb of the Pulenas

Female demon, man with knife, deceased man sur-
rounded by Charuns, rock, female demon and kneel-
ing man leaning on a stone (according to Roncalli:
Sisyphos).

275-250 B.C.

Lit.: Cristofani, in: *Civiltà* 1985, 350-2 no. 15.1.6
(225-200 B.C.). Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 16-7, no.
2 (250-200 B.C.). Cristofani 1989, 610, n. 48.
Jannot 1991, 448-9. Colonna, *StEtr* 56, 1989-90
(1991), 114-5 n. 75. Colonna 1991, 121 n. 54, 123,
132 n. 74, no. 2. Roncalli 1996, 41, fig. 1. *LIMC*
III,1 Charon/ Charun 103 (E. Mavleev/I. Krauskopf:
300-250 B.C.). Camporeale 2000, pl. 125 (220-180
B.C.).

Inscr. (cap.): Rix Ta 1.17. *CIE* 5430. *TLE* 131
(father of *H94*).

H112. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1415
(Fig. 6)

Tarquinia, Tomb III of the Camna

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left; male death demon
behind the horses.

225-200 B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 71-2 no. 29, 131-132 no. 5,
pl. 6. Mansuelli, *StEtr* 36, 1968, 11. Boitani 1988, 14,
no. 2 (200-150 B.C.). Colonna 1991, 136-7. Colonna
1993, 360, n. 120. 1998, 129 (200-175 B.C.).
Maggiani 1998, 134, no. 24.

Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.183. *CIE* 5471 (son of *H109*).

H113. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1423

Tarquinia, Tomb III of the Camna

Lid not belonging to chest.

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left.

250-225 B.C. (chest)

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 139 no. 12, pl. 11. Colonna
1991, 136-137.

H114. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1414

Tarquinia, Tomb II of the Camna

Lid (= *H135*) not belonging to chest.

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to right (unfinished).
225-200 B.C. (chest)

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 130 no. 4, pl. 5. Cataldi, in:
Boitani 1988, 14 no. 3. Colonna 1991, 121, 129 n.
56; 136-7, 140 n. 28. Maggiani 1998, 134, no. 25.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.184. *CIE* 5472 (chest).

H115. Tarquinia, lost (Villa Tarantola?)

Tarquinia, Monterozzi (Ripagretta)

Magistrate on a *biga*.

Third century B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 143-144 no. 16.



Fig. 6. H112 (picture by the author).



Fig. 7 H122. (picture by the author).

H116. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1424
Tarquinia, Tomb III of the Camna
Horseman accompanied by Vanth and Charun meeting his parents near the gate of the underworld.
250-225 B.C.

Lit.: Jannot 1991, 454. Colonna 1991, 136-7. Bonamici, *Prospettiva* 89-90 (1998) 11 n. 95. *LIMC* III,1 Charon/Charun 71.

H117. Tarquinia, lost
Horseman moving to left.
Date: unknown

H118. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale
Tarquinia (Tomb of the Camna)
Front: battle scene (Patroklos' death?). L. short side: Eteokles facing Polyneikes. R. short side: Lykourgos killing his daughter.
300 B.C.

Lit.: Krauskopf 1974, 53, 104 Pol 6. Colonna 1991, 136. *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 21 (I. Krauskopf).

H119. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9872
Tarquinia, necropolis Monterozzi
Long side A: scenes from the *Iliad*; long side B: Amazonomachy. Short sides: man on a *quadriga*.
330-300 B.C.

Lit.: Svoronos 1886, 205-210. Torelli 1985, 177 (340-330 B.C.). Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11 no. 6. Colonna 1991, 122, 129 n. 64. Colonna 1993, 341, n. 23. Roncalli 1996, 53 fig. 9. *LIMC* I,1 Amazones Etruscae 36 (E. Mavleev: 350-300 B.C.).

H120. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9873
'Sarcophagus of the Magnate'
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Partunus
Long side A: Amazonomachy; B: centauromachy and Orestes and Pylades (?); short sides: Amazonomachy.
330-300 B.C.

Lit.: Martelli 1975, 11 n. 4. Oleson, *StEtr* 44 (1976) 82 n. 34. Tarquinia 1986, 340-342. Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 9, no. 2. *LIMC* I,1 Amazones Etruscae 37 (E. Mavleev). Camporeale 2000, pl. 133 (300-250 B.C.). Maggiani 1998, 133, no. 6.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.9. *CIE* 5423.

H121. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9871
'Sarcophagus of the Priest'
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Partunus
Long side A: sacrifice of the Trojans; side B and short sides: Amazonomachy (paintings).
350 B.C.
Lit.: Pallottino 1972-3, 63-70. Martelli 1975, 13-4. Oleson, *StEtr* 44 (1976) 82 n. 34. Blanck 1982, 11-29. Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 8 no. 1, 17-18. Zevi 1996, 121-124. Steuernagel 1998, 20, 189 no. 2 (375-325

B.C.). *LIMC* I,1 Amazones Etruscae 31; III,1 Charon/Charun 35, 38.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix Ta 1.10/11/12. *CIE* 5422.

H122. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 9797
(Fig. 7)

Tarquinia, Tomb of the Partunus
Eros with *oinochoe* and *patera*, amphora, Eros with *oinochoe* and *patera*.
250-225 B.C.

Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11 no. 7. Gentili 1994, 126 n. 23.

Inscr.: Ta 1.16. *CIE* 5427.

H126. Tarquinia, Museo Arch. Nazionale RC 1898
Tarquinia, Tomb of the Alvethnas
Lid figure: male (haruspex).

Long sides: *Tierkampf* (reliefs: below); Amazonomachy (paintings; above).
330-300 B.C.

Lit.: Bartoloni 1987, 240. Maggiani 1989, 1559. *LIMC* I,1 Amazones Etruscae 30.

Inscr. (cap.): Rix Ta 1.142. Maggiani 1989, 1559-1560.

H146. Tarquinia, Museo Naz., fragmentary chest
Tarquinia
Funerary procession (of a magistrate?) moving to left.

Third cent. B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 147 no. 19, pl. 16.

H148. Tarquinia, Villa Bruschi-Falgari
Tarquinia

Front: Skylla; round lid tympanon: Charun, Kerberos, Turms (Hermes), Charun.
300-225 B.C.

Lit.: Brendel 1978, 391, fig. 302 (250 B.C.). Boosen 1986, 26 no. 11 (3rd cent. B.C.). Krauskopf 1987, 78-85. Bartoloni 1987, 240. *LIMC* VI,1 Kerberos 49 (S. Woodford/J. Spier).

H157. Tarquinia, Villa Bruschi-Falgari
Tarquinia

Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
250-225 B.C.

H158. Tarquinia, Villa Bruschi-Falgari
Tarquinia

Magistrate on a *biga* moving to right, led by Charun.
200 B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 140 no. 13, pl. 12. Maggiani 1998, 129 n. 139.

H162. Tuscania, Convento di Sa. Maria del riposo
(chest)
Tuscania

Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
250 B.C.

Lit.: for the *patera* cf. Gentili 1994, B 76, pl. 35a.

H185. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico. Formerly:
Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2847
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Lid (G44) not belonging to chest.
Hippocampus, Skylla, *ketos*.
250-225 B.C. (chest)
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 107 J 11. Boosen 1986, 30 no. 24,
200 no. 58. Sgubini Moretti 1991, 75 (250-240
B.C.). Gentili 1994, pl. 34a.

H187a. Tuscania, lost
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Ketos, krater, *ketos*.
300-275 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 106 J 3. Boosen 1986, 78 no. 13.
Inscr.: lid: Rix AT 1.13. *CIE* 5696a. *TLE* 182a. Chest
(cap.): Rix AT 1.14. *CIE* 5696b. *TLE* 182b.

H187b. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico. Formerly:
Rome, Villa Giulia
Boy with Phrygian cap on *ketos*; boy with Phrygian
cap on *ketos*.
275 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 106 J 5. Boosen 1986, 204 no. 72.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.16. *CIE* II,1,4, 5698.

H188. Rome, Villa Giulia, without inv. no. Formerly:
Vetralla, Museo Comunale
Norchia, Tomb Lattanzi (Excavation 1853). Tomb
of the Churcle family. See also *H3* and *H193*
Front: female demon, *ketos*, boxers, female demon.
R. short side: horseman moving to right (appliqué
style).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: De Ruyt 1934, no. 124bis, fig. 49. Colonna 1978,
380-383, tav. 418m1. Thuillier 1985, 158. Boosen
1986, 187, no. 11 (with ill.). Colonna 1991, 122, 130
n. 66. *LIMC* III,1 s.v. Charon/Charun (Mavleev/
Krauskopf).
Inscr. in raised letters: Rix AT 1.172. *CIE* II,1,4, no.
5875. *StEtr* 33 (1965) 474, no. 3 (son of *H3*; the
son died at 23 years).

H190. Vetralla, Casa Giovanni Luzi
Norchia, PB 9, tomb 28 (1911)
Ketos, *patera umbilicata*, *ketos*.
250-200 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 384, no. 53; 389.

H193. Formerly: Vetralla
Norchia, Tomba Lattanzi. (Excavation 1853). Tomb
of the Churcle family. See also *H3* and *H188*

Tierkampf (appliqué style).
320-300 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 381, 383.
Bartoloni 1987, 239 n. 42.

H195. Formerly: Vetralla
Norchia, Tomba Lattanzi (1853)
Ketos, *ketos*.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: G. Proietti, *StEtr* 45 (1977) 457-458. Colonna
Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 380-381, 381. Boosen
1986, 198, no. 52 (2nd cent. B.C.).

H196. Viterbo, Palazzo Comunale
Viterbo, Poggio Tondo, near Cipollara (excavation
1721). Formerly said to come from Musarna.
Front: battle scene. R. short side: *ketos* moving to left.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Cristofani 1978, 198 fig. 183 (200-150 B.C.).
Colonna 1978, 113 n. 122 (250 B.C.). Emiliozzi
1986, 95 n. 75. Höckmann 1991, 204 (200-150
B.C.). Boosen 1986, 193 no. 34.

H203. Viterbo, Museo Civico, lost
Musarna
Ketos, *patera umbilicata*, *ketos* (painting).
After 250 B.C.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.97. *CIE* II,1,4, 5808.

H204. Viterbo, Museo Civico 213 (fragment)
Musarna
Ketos to right, (*ketos* moving to left, lost).
200 B.C.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.110. *CIE* II,1,4, 5821.

H205. Viterbo, Museo Civico 232
Lid not belonging to chest.
Musarna, Tomb of the Alethnas II, no. 15
Magistrate on *biga* moving to left.
250-225 B.C. (chest)
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 127-128 no. 2, pl. 3. Emiliozzi
1993, 123-124, 139 fig. 12. Maggiani 1998, 128
(225-200 B.C.).
Inscr. (on chest; cap.): Rix AT 1.108. *CIE* II,1,4,
5819. *TLE* 171.

H211. Viterbo, Museo Civico 238 (chest)
Musarna, Tomb of the Alethnas
Taenia (painting).
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 47 no. 11. Maggiani 1998,
134, no. 44.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.109. *CIE* II,1,4, 5820. *TLE* 173.

H212. Viterbo, Museo Civico 239 (lid not belong-
ing to chest)

Musarna, Tomb of the Alethnas
Ketos, Gorgoneion, *ketos* (unfinished).
275-250 B.C.

Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 47 no. 11. Colonna Di Paola
1978, 384 no. 52. Boosen 1986, 199, no. 55.
Maggiani 1998, 134, no. 41.
Inscr. (chest): Rix AT 1.100. *CIE* II,I,4, 5811. *TLE* 174.

H213. Viterbo, Museo Civico 240
Musarna, Tomb of the Alethnas
Ketos, mask with Phrygian cap, *ketos*.
250 B.C.

Lit.: Boosen 1986, 199 no. 56. Morandi 1986, 141.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.107. *CIE* II,I,4, 5818. *TLE* 172.

H220. Viterbo, Museo Civico (P 5)
Musarna
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
250-200 B.C.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.124. *CIE* II,I,4, 5835.

H235. Viterbo, Museo Civico (P 21)
Musarna
Hunting scene (incised; unfinished relief).
300-200 B.C.
Lit.: Camporeale 1984, 145, n. 5.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.131. *CIE* II,I,4, 5841.

H240. Viterbo, Museo Civico 241
Norchia, PB 9, tomb 28 (Tomb of the Smurinas) (1911)
Ketos, rosette, *ketos*.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 383 n. 47.
Boosen 1986, 199, no. 53, Taf. 27, 6. Maggiani
1998, 135, no. 46.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.168. *CIE* II,I,4, 5871. *REE* 37,
1969, 344, 1, tav. 422.

H241. Viterbo, Museo Civico 242
Norchia, PB 9, tomb 28 (Tomb of the Smurinas)
(1911)
Female death demons at corners (appliqué style).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 374 A.3.

H243. Viterbo, Museo Civico 244
Norchia, PB 9, tomb 28 (Tomb of the Smurinas) (1911)
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
250-200 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 384 n. 54,
tav. 423, 2.

H245. Viterbo, Museo Civico 246
Norchia, PB 9, tomb 28 (Tomb of the Smurinas) (1911)
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
250-200 B.C.

Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 398.
H246. Viterbo, Museo Civico 247
Norchia, PB 9, tomb 28 (Tomb of the Smurinas)
(1911)
Griffin, mask?, griffin.
250-200 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 384 n. 54, 389,
tav. 423, 1, 3.

H260. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci
Volterra
Leave-taking or meeting.
300-275 B.C. (Colonna)
Lit.: Nielsen 1989b, 67-70, fig. 13. Colonna 1993,
345 n. 45.

H261. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci
Volterra
Front: procession of a magistrate moving to left.
Short sides: Charon and female death demon respec-
tively moving to right and left.
300-275 B.C. (Colonna)
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 145-147 no. 18, pl.15. Nielsen
1989b, 67-70, fig. 14. Colonna 1993, 345 n. 45.
Maggiani 1998, 130 (250 B.C.). *LIMC* III,1 s.v.
Charon/Charun no. 11 (Mavleev/Krauskopf).
Inscr.: Rix Vt 1.27. *CIE* I 128.

Section G: K.-P. Goethert 1974

G5. Paris, Louvre MND 2316
Chiusi
Troilos threatened; journey to the underworld.
225-200 B.C. (Colonna)
Lit.: Briguet 1993, 327-335, pl. 1-4 (130-100 B.C.).
Colonna 1993, 374 no. 21, pl. 20.
Inscr.: Rix CI 1.2256. *CIE* 2678. *REE* 59 (1994) no.
34, pl. 50,34.

G11. Philadelphia, University Museum MS 3488
Ketos, *ketos*.
250-200 B.C.?

G15. Rome, Villa Giulia
Vulci, Tomba delle Iscrizioni (with grave contents)
All sides: Amazonomachy. Demons on corners of
long sides (PT).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti 1963, 24, fig. 9-10. Rizzo 1985, pl. 88.
Van der Meer 1985, 80, fig. 15. Nielsen 1990, 46-
48, fig. 3a-d. *LIMC* I,1 s.v. Amazones 38. *LIMC*
III,1 s.v. Charon/Charun 7.

G16. Santa Barbara, University Museum
Viterbo
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
200 B.C.

- G18. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3060
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left.
250-200 B.C.
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 137 no. 10, pl. 9.
- G19. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3062
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Woman in *carpentum* moving to right, led by Vanth and Charun.
250-200 B.C.
Lit.: EAA 365, fig. 527, s.v. carro. Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11-12.
- G20. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale (fragment of chest)
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin.
300-200 B.C.
- G21. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3065 (head of lid not pertinent)
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin; l. short side: Charun.
225-200 B.C.
Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 12, fig. 10.
- G22. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3063
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left, led by Charun.
250-225 B.C.
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 141 no. 14, pl. 13. Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 13, fig. 12. *LIMC* III,1 s.v. Charon/Charun 232 no. 81.
- G24. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale (from Lerici-Gamberini excavation)
Tarquinia
Lid figure: male (haruspex).
Leave-taking or meeting in or near the underworld
250 B.C.
Lit.: Maggiani 1989, 1560, tav. IIb-c.
- G25. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3075
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Magistrate on a *biga* moving to right.
200 B.C.
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 135 no. 9, pl. 9. Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11-12. Maggiani 1996 (1998) 129 n. 139.
- G26. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3055/3056
Lid not belonging to chest.
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Skylia.
200 B.C.
Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11-12.
- G27. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3057
Tarquinia?
Griffin, *patera*?, griffin (painting).
250-225 B.C.
- G28. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3059
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left, led by Vanth and Charun.
250-225 B.C.
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 142, no. 15, pl. 14. Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11-12.
- G29. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3054
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Woman on a *biga* moving to left.
200 B.C.
Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11-12.
- G30. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3066 (Fig. 8)
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Horseman and demons moving to left.
275-250 B.C.
Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 11-12. Jannot 1991, fig. 5. *LIMC* III,1 s.v. Charon/Charun 72.
- G31. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3067
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Camna I (Poggio del Cavalluccio)
Three pairs of fighters with *scuta* and round shields (gladiators?).
250-200 B.C.
Lit.: Cataldi, in: Boitani 1988, 12, fig. 11.
- G32. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 3058
Tarquinia?
Griffin?, *patera*, griffin? (painting).
300-200 B.C.
- G37. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2851
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana
Taeniae (painting).
250 B.C.
- G70. Tuscania, Museo Naz. Archeologico 263
(chest)
Tuscania
Ketos, *ketos* (unfinished).
250-200 B.C.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.93. *CIE* II,1,4, 5786, pl. 22.
- G72. Tuscania, Museo Naz. Archeologico (chest)
Tuscania, Tomb of the Vipinana (J.6)
Leave-taking or meeting (man, horse, man moving to right, woman moving to left).
250 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 106 J.6
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.17. *CIE* II,1,4, 5699, pl. 11.



Fig. 8. G30 (picture by the author).

G75. Tuscania, San Pietro (fragments of chest)
Tuscania
Ketos, *ketos*.
250-200 B.C.

G76. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico
Tuscania, necropolis Madonna dell'Olivio, Tomb of
the Amazons.
Long side A and short sides: Amazonomachy. Long
side B: *Tierkampf*.
330-320 B.C.
Lit.: *Nuovi Tesori* 1970, no. 52. Moretti 1970, 71.
Moretti 1986, 243-245. Sgubini Moretti 1991, 66-67
fig. 71-74.

G105 Viterbo, Museo Civico
Casale Cinelli (near Viterbo)
Long side A: male demons at the corners; side B:
female demons; at the corners (*HT*-type).
350-300 B.C.

G106. Viterbo, Museo Civico
Musarna, Tomb of the Alethnas I, no. X
Magistrate on a *biga* moving to left; winged death
goddess behind cart.
250-225 B.C.
Lit.: Lambrechts 1959, 138 no. 11, pl. 10. Emiliozzi
1993, 121.

Section CU: M. Moretti/A.M. Sgubini Moretti (eds.)
1983; see also Sgubini Moretti 1991

CU I,2. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 70857
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas I,2
Long side A: Hermes contra Argos, Amazonomachy (?).
R. short side: Bellerophon contra Chimaira.
310-300 B.C.
Lit.: Goethert 1974, no. 77. Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 20.
Maggiani 1988.

CU I,4. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 70862
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas I,4
Ketos, rosette, *ketos*.
280-270 B.C.
Lit.: Goethert 1974, no. 82. Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 22.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.5. *CIE* I,1,4, 5687.

CU I,5. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 70861
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas I,5
Ketos, dolphin; dolphin, *ketos*.
280-260 B.C.
Lit.: Goethert 1974, no. 78. Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 24.
Nielsen 1989b, 77-79, fig. 23.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.6. *CIE* II,1,4, 5688, tav. 10.

CU I,6. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 70858
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas I,6

Female demon, stylized palmtree, female demon (in panel at right).
280-270 B.C.
Lit.: Goethert 1974, no. 79. Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 25.

CU II,1. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 86901
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas II,1
Griffin, flower, griffin.
320-310 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 87.
Inscr. (cap.): ibidem 88.

CU II,2. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 86902
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas II,2
Long side A and r. short side: Amazonomachy.
320-310 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 88. Steuernagel 1998, 98-99, 216 no. 300 (275-225 B.C.)

CU II,5. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 86905
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas II,5
Long side A: *ketos*, *patera*?, *ketos*; r. short side: frontal, nude woman, rosette, frontal, dressed woman (female demons?).
290-280 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 91.

CU II,7. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 86907
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas II,7
Taenia, rosette.
260-250 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 93.
Inscr. (cap.): ibidem 94.

CU II,13. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 86913
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas II,13
R. short side: *patera umbilicata*.
230-220 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 96.

CU II,21. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico 86921
Tuscania, Tomba dei Curunas II,13
Griffin, *patera umbilicata*, griffin (unfinished).
200 B.C.
Lit.: Moretti/Sgubini 1983, 99.

Section O: other sarcophagi not published by Herbig or Goethert

O1. Barberano Romano, Museo Archeologico 75409
San Giuliano, loc. Caiolo
Lid figure: male, left hand to the head, r. hand: *patera*. Charun and female demon with torch at corners (architectonic type).
325-300 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 375 B 11, 380. *LIMC* III,2 s.v. Charon/Charun 14.

O2. Bomarzo, lost
Bomarzo, necropolis Pianmiano
Long side A: hunting scene; r. short side: lion's head.
300-200 B.C.
Lit.: Baglione 1976, 27 n. 2, pl. 9,1. Camporeale 1984, 175 no. 1.

O3. Cerveteri, Museo Archeologico
Caere, Tomb of the Tamsnie
In tympana of gable lid: two griffins.
300 B.C.
Lit.: G. Proietti, *StEtr* 51 (1985) 557-571. Maggiani 1998, 133, no. 1.
Inscr.: Rix Cr 1.161. *StEtr* 51 (1985) 566.

O4. Florence, Museo Arch. 5882 (short side of chest)
Tarquinia
Chest: kline-type.
Short side: Turms (Hermes), deceased man, Charun (underworld).
350-300 B.C.
Lit.: De Ruyt 1934, 82 no. 88. Steingraber 1979, no. 441, Taf. 19,2. M. Bonamici, *Prospettiva* 89-90 (1998) 11 fig. 18. *LIMC* IV, 1 s.v. Hades/Aita, Calu no. 15 (I. Krauskopf: 400-350 B.C.)

O5. Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut
San Giuliano, Tomb of the Thansina
325-300 B.C.
Floral decoration (*HT*-type).
Lit.: Hafner 1930, cc. 449-474; Martelli 1975, fig. 5.

O6. Roma, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia 60253
Norchia, Tomba PA 14
Chest: *HT*-type (appliqué style).
Charon with oar at left and right corner.
Lid: seminude man lying flat with *patera*; head turned to the right.
350-325 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna Di Paolo/Colonna 1978, 265, tav. 407. Colonna 1997, 172 fig. 6, 182 n. 33.

O7. Tarquinia, Tomba of the Aninas (fragments)
Ibidem
Magistrate on a biga moving to right (painting).
200 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1984, 9-10, fig. 14. Maggiani 1998, 134, no. 21.
Inscr.: Rix Ta 1.162; *REE* 52, no. 10, pl. 45, 10.

O8. Tuscania, Madonna dell'Olivo (fragment of chest)
Ibidem
Amazonomachy? (architectonic type).
300 B.C.
Inscr.: *REE* 39 (1971), 337 no. 8, tav. 71,8.

09. Tuscania, lost
Tuscania, Carcarella, Tomb of the Vipinana Dolphin, *patera umbilicata*, dolphin.
300-275 B.C.
Lit.: Colonna 1978, 106 J 2, 113.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.12. *CIE* 5695.
010. Viterbo, Museo Archeologico
Cipollara, loc. San Francesco (near Viterbo)
Ketos, ketos.
Lid: partially nude man.
250 B.C.
Lit.: G. Proietti, *StEtr* 45 (1977), 457-8, tav. 68,2.
Inscr.: Rix AT 1.156. *REE* 45 (1977) 23, tav. 43,23.
011. Viterbo, Museo Archeologico
Cipollara, loc. San Francesco (near Viterbo)
Dolphins, krater, dolphins (on waves).
Lid: partially nude man.
300-275 B.C.
Lit.: G. Proietti, *StEtr* 45 (1977), 457-8, tav. 68,1.
Colonna, *DdA* 4 (1980) 23, fig. 41.
Inscr. (cap.): Rix AT 1.157. *REE* 45 (1977) 24, tav. 43,24.
012. Vulci, Antiquarium
Vulci (excavations of L. Bonaparte)
Undecorated chests (*HT*-type) with decorated lids (antithetical figures in tympana).
300 B.C.
Lit.: Bonamici 1980, 18-20. *LIMC* III,1 suppl., s.v. Ariadna/Ariatha 22 (F. Jurgent).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For abbreviations see *Archäologische Bibliographie*.

- Archeologia* I, 1982: *Archeologia nella Tuscia* (Primo Incontro di Studio Viterbo 1982). Roma.
Archeologia II, 1986: *Archeologia nella Tuscia II* (a cura di A. Emiliozzi Morandi e A.M. Sgubini Moretti). Roma.
Artigianato, 1985: *Artigianato artistico in Etruria*. (Catalogo della mostra, Volterra/Chiusi). Milano.
ASCIE I-III, 1989: *Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco. Firenze 26 Maggio - 2 Giugno 1985. Atti I-III* (Supplemento di Studi Etruschi). Roma.
Baglione, M.P. 1976, *Il territorio di Bomarzo*. Roma.
Barbieri, G. 1991, *Viterbo e il suo territorio*. Roma.
Bartoccini, R. 1960, *Vulci. Storia-Scavi-Rinvenimenti*. Roma.
Bartoloni, G.-Baglione, M.P. 1987, Elementi scultorei decorativi nelle tombe tarquiniesi del Primo Ellenismo, *Tarquinia* 1987, 233-242.
Benelli, E. forthcoming, *Le iscrizioni funerarie chiusine di età ellenistica*.

- Blanck, H. 1982, Die Malereien des sogenannten Priester-Sarkophages in Tarquinia, *Miscellanea Archeologica Tobias Dohrn dedicata*, Roma, 11-28.
Blanck, H. 1983, Le pitture del "sarcophago del sacerdote" nel Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia, *DdA* 3rd s., I,2, 79-84.
Blanck, H. 1992, I tre sarcofagi etruschi a Sintra in Portogallo, *BdA* 77, s. VI, 1-14.
Bocci, P. 1960, Il sarcophago tarquiniese delle Amazzoni al Museo Archeologico di Firenze, *StEtr* 28, 109-125.
Boitani, F. (ed.) 1988, *I sarcofagi etruschi delle famiglie Partunu, Camna e Pulena*. Roma.
Bonamici, M. 1980, Sui primi scavi di Luciano Bonaparte a Vulci, *Prospettiva* 21, 6-24.
Bonfante, L. 1993, Fufluns Pacha: the Etruscan Dionysus, in: T. H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus*, Ithaca and London, 221-235.
Boosen, M. 1986, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen. Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Bedeutung* (Archaeologica 59). Roma.
Brendel, O. 1978, *Etruscan Art*. Harmondsworth.
Briguet, M.F. 1993, Deux sarcophages de Chiusi au Musée du Louvre, *Civiltà Chiusi*, 327-335.
Camporeale, G. 1959, L'amazzonomachia in Etruria, *StEtr* 27, 107-137.
Camporeale, G. 1984, *La caccia in Etruria* (Archaeologica 50). Roma.
Camporeale, G. 2000, *Gli Etruschi. Storia e civiltà*. Torino.
Caratteri 1977: *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche* (Atti dell'incontro di studi. Siena 1976). Firenze.
Cataldi, Maria 1993, *Tarquinia*. Roma.
Cateni, G.-Fiaschi, F. 1984, *Le urne di Volterra e l'artigianato artistico degli Etruschi*. Firenze.
Cavagnaro Vanoni, Lucia 1996, *Tombe tarquiniesi di età ellenistica* (Studia Archaeologica 82). Roma.
Christiansen, J. 1995, Carl Jacobsen og den Etruskiske Samling, *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 51, 46-71.
CIE: Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum. Leipzig.
Civiltà 1985: *Civiltà degli Etruschi*. (Catalogo della Mostra, Firenze). Milano.
Civiltà Chiusi 1993: *La Civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio* (Atti del XVII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici. Chianciano Terme. 1989). Firenze.
Colonna, G. 1978, Archeologia dell'età romantica in Etruria: I Campanari di Toscanella e la Tomba dei Vipinana, *StEtr* 46, 81-117.
Colonna, G. 1985, Società e cultura a Volsinii, *Annali della fondazione per il museo 'Claudio Faina'* II, 101-131.
Colonna, G. 1990, Il posto dell'Arringatore nell'arte etrusca di età ellenistica, *Die Welt der Etrusker* (Colloq. Berlin 1988) 219-226.
Colonna, G. 1991, Riflessioni sul dionisismo in Etruria, *Dionysos. Mito e mistero* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale. Comacchio 1989). Comune di Comacchio, 117-155.
Colonna, G. 1991, Il posto dell'Arringatore nell'arte etrusca di età ellenistica, *StEtr* 56, 99-119.
Colonna, G. 1993, I sarcofagi chiusini di età ellenistica, *Civiltà Chiusi*, 339-374.
Colonna, G. 1997, Divinités peu connues du panthéon étrusque, *Les Étrusques. Les plus religieux des*

- hommes (XIIes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre: Paris 1992). Paris, 167-184.
- Colonna Di Paolo, E. - Colonna, G. 1970, *Castel d'Asso* I-II. Roma.
- Colonna Di Paolo, E.-Colonna, G. 1978, *Norcia I. (Le necropoli rupestri dell'Etruria meridionale 2)* Roma.
- Comstock, M.B. - Vermeule, C.C. 1976, *Sculpture in stone. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston*. Boston.
- Cristofani, M. 1965, *La tomba delle iscrizioni a Cerveteri*. Firenze.
- Cristofani, M. 1969-1970, La tomba del "Tifone". Cultura e società di Tarquinia in età tardo etrusca, *Atti Acc. Naz. Lic., Memorie* S.8, 14, 213-256.
- Cristofani, M. 1971, Le Pitture della Tomba del Tifone, *Monumenti della Pittura Antica scoperti in Italia*. I. Tarquinia fasc. V, Roma.
- Cristofani, M. 1988, Arte ufficiale e arte privata nell'Etruria del primo ellenismo, *Akten des XIII. Int. Kongresses f. klass. Arch.*, Berlin, 67-72.
- Cristofani, M. 1989, Periodizzazione dell'arte etrusca, *ASCIE* II, 597-612.
- Cristofani, M. 1996, "Pinxit raptum Proserpinae", *StMisc* 30, 109-112.
- Cristofani, M. - Martelli, M. 1978, Fufluns Pachies. Sugli aspetti del culto di Bacco in Etruria, *StEtr* 46, 119-133.
- De Angelis, F. 1999, Tragedie familiari. Miti greci nell'arte sepolcrale etrusca, *Lo specchio del mito. Immaginario e realtà. Symposium Rome 19-20.1998* (Palilia 6), Wiesbaden, 53-66.
- De Haan-van de Wiel, W.H. 1970, A grypomachy in South Italian Vase-Painting, *BABesch* 44, 118-128.
- Della Fina, G.M. 1983, *Le antichità a Chiusi. Un caso di 'arredo urbano'* (Archaeologica 31). Roma.
- De Puma, R.D. and Penny Short, J. (ed.) 1994, *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*. Madison/London.
- De Ruyt, F. 1934, *Charun, démon étrusque de la mort*, Rome.
- Dohrn, T. 1982, *Die etruskische Kunst im Zeitalter der griechischen Klassik: die Interimsperiode*. Mainz.
- Donne: A. Rallo (ed.) 1989, *Le donne in Etruria*. Roma.
- Ducati, P. 1931, Notizia di tre sarcofagi etruschi a Monserrate presso Lisbona, *StEtr* 5, 523-529.
- Emiliozzi, A. 1974, *La collezione Rossi Danielli nel Museo Civico di Viterbo*. Roma.
- Emiliozzi, A. 1983, Sull'epitaffio del 67 a.C. nel sepolcro dei Salvii a Ferento, *MEFRA* 95, 701-717.
- Emiliozzi, A. 1986, *Il Museo Civico di Viterbo. Storia delle raccolte archeologiche*. Roma.
- Emiliozzi, E. 1993, Per gli Alethna di Musarna, *Miscellanea Etrusco-Italica* I, 109-146.
- ET: *Etruskische Texte*, see Rix 1991.
- Gentili, M.D. (con un contributo di M.F. Briguët) 1994, *I sarcofagi etruschi in terracotta di età recente*. (Archaeologica 108; Tyrrhenica IV). Roma.
- Gentili, M.D. 1997, Sarcofagi fittili d'età ellenistica: due nuovi esemplari, *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino II*. Roma 371-380.
- Giannini, P. 1970, *Centri etruschi e romani del Viterbese*. Viterbo.
- Goethert, K.-P. 1974, *Typologie und Chronologie der jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*. Berlin (diss. Berlin).
- Hafner, G. 1939, Ein bemalter Marmorsarkophag in Heidelberg, *AA* cc. 450-474.
- Harari, M. 1980, *Il 'Gruppo clusium' della ceramografia etrusca*. Roma.
- Harari, M. 1995, Ipotesi sulle regole del montaggio narrativo nella pittura vascolare etrusca, *Modi e funzioni del racconto mitico nella ceramica greca italiota etrusca dal VI al IV secolo a.C. (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Raiti di Vietri sul Mare, 19/31-5-1994)*, 103-111.
- Harris, W.V. 1971, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*. Oxford.
- Helbig, W. 1963-1972, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rome I-IV*⁴. Tübingen.
- Hellenismus 1976: Hellenismus in Mittelitalien I-II* (Kolloquium Göttingen 1974). Göttingen.
- Herbig, R. 1952, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 7). Berlin.
- Höckmann, U. 1991, Gallierdarstellungen in der etruskischen Grabkunst des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., *Jdl* 106, 199-230.
- Holliday, P.J. 1990, Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Art, *AJA* 94, 73-93.
- Holliday, P.J. 1994, Celtomachia. The Representation of Battles with Gauls on Etruscan Funerary Urns, *Etruscan Studies* 1, 23-45.
- Jannot, J.-R. 1982, La Tombe de la Mercareccia à Tarquinia, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 60, 101-135.
- Jannot, J.-R. 1988, Musiques et musiciens étrusques, *CRAI*, 311-334.
- Jannot, J.-R. 1991, Charoon et Charun. A propos d'un démon funéraire étrusque, *CRAI*, 445-464.
- Jannot, J.-R. 1993, Charun, Tuchulcha et les autres, *RM* 100, 59-81.
- Jannot, J.-R. 1997, Charu(n) et Vanth, divinités plurielles, *Les Étrusques. Les plus religieux des hommes* (XIIes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre: Paris 1992). Paris, 139-166.
- Krauskopf, I. 1974, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der etruskischen Kunst*. Mainz am Rhein.
- Krauskopf, I. 1986, Culsans und Culśu, *Mélanges G. Radke*, 156-63.
- Krauskopf, I. 1987, *Todesdämonen und Totengötter im vorhellenistischen Etrurien. Kontinuität und Wandel* (Bibl. di "Studi Etruschi" 16). Firenze.
- Lambrechts, R. 1959, *Essay sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques*. Bruxelles/Rome.
- LIMC 1981-1999: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich-München.
- Maggiani, A. 1984, Iscrizioni iguvine e usi grafici nell'Etruria settentrionale, in: *Prosdoci* 1984, 217-227.
- Maggiani, A. 1988, Argos, Janus, Culsans. A proposito di un sarcofago di Tuscania, *Prospettiva* 52, 2-9.
- Maggiani, A. 1989, Immagini di aruspici, *ASCIE* III, 1557-1563.
- Maggiani, A. 1990, Alfabeti etruschi di età ellenistica, *AnnMuseoFaina* 4, 177-217.

- Maggiani, A. 1995, Sulla cronologia dei sarcofagi etruschi in terracotta di età ellenistica. A proposito di una recente monografia, *RdA* 19, 75-91.
- Maggiani, A. 1998, Appunti sulle magistrature etrusche, *StEtr* 62, 95-138.
- Martelli, M. 1975, Un aspetto del commercio di manufatti artistici nel IV secolo a.C.: i sarcofagi in marmo, *Prospettiva* 3, 9-17.
- Martelli, M. 1987, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*. Novara.
- Massa-Pairault, F.-H. 1985, *Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique* (Bibliothèque de l'École Française de Rome 257). Rome.
- Massa-Pairault, F.-H. 1992, *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica*. Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo a.C. Milano.
- Massa-Pairault, F.-H. 1996, *La cité des Étrusques*. Paris.
- Massa-Pairault, F.-H. 1997, Religion étrusque et culture grecque. Quelques problèmes, *Les Étrusques. Les plus religieux des hommes* (XIIes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre: Paris 1992). Paris, 37-54.
- Miscellanea 1991: *Miscellanea Etrusca e Italica in onore di Massimo Pallottino* (= AC 43). Roma.
- Moltesen, M. 1983, Sölvtoj i ler, *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 39, 32-53.
- Moltesen, M. 1985, Dödens triumf, *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 41, 56-82.
- M. Moltesen - M. Nielsen (eds.) 1996, *Etruria and Central Italy 450-30 B.C.* (exh. cat. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek). Copenhagen.
- Morandi, A. 1986, L'iscrizione CIE 5683 del sarcofago tuscanese nel Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, *RM* 93, 135-142.
- Morandi, A. 1990, *Epigrafia di Bolsena etrusca*. Roma.
- Moretti, M. 1963, *The National Museum of Villa Giulia*. Roma.
- Moretti, M./Sgubini Moretti, A.M. (eds.) 1983, *I Curunas di Tuscania*. Roma.
- Moscato, P. 1997, Un gruppo di urne volterrane con rappresentazione del "viaggio agli inferi in carpentum", *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino II*. Roma 403-423.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1985, Women in the Late Etruscan Society. Practices of Commemoration and Social Stress, *Fromhed og verslighed i middelalder og renaissance, Festskrift til Thelma Jexlev*. Odense, 192-202.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1989a, La donna e la famiglia nella tarda società etrusca, *Donne* 123-145.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1989b, Women and Family in a Changing Society: A Quantitative Approach to Late Etruscan Burials, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 17-18, 53-98.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1990, Sacerdotesse e associazioni culturali femminili in Etruria: testimonianze epigrafiche ed iconografiche, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 19, 45-67.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1992, Portrait of a marriage: the old Etruscan couple from Volterra, *Acta Hyperborea* 4, 89-141.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1993, Cultural orientations in Etruria in the Hellenistic period: Greek myths and local motifs on Volterranean urn reliefs, *Aspects of Hellenism in Italy* (Acta Hyperborea 5) 319-357.
- Nielsen, Marjatta 1999, Common Tombs for Women in Etruria: Buried Matriarchies?, Setälä, P. and Savunen, L. (eds.), *Female Network and the public sphere in Roman Society*, Rome, 65-136.
- Nuovi tesori 1970: *Nuovi tesori dell'antica Tuscia* (Catalogo della Mostra, Viterbo 1970). Viterbo.
- Pairault-Massa: see Massa-Pairault, F.H.
- Paschinger, E. 1989, Eine bisher übersehene, achte Namensbeischrift der etruskischen Todesgöttin Vanth, *AW* 20, 57-61.
- Paschinger, E. 1992, *Die etruskische Göttin Vanth*. I-II. (Sonderschriften des Öst. Arch. Inst. Bd. 20). Wien.
- Pfiffig, A.J. 1972, *Etruskische Bauinschriften*. Wien.
- Pfiffig, A.J. 1975, *Religio etrusca*. Graz.
- Prima Italia 1980: *Prima Italia. Italische kunst van het eerste millennium voor J.K.* Brussel.
- Proietti, G. 1985, L'ipogeo monumentale dei tamsnie: considerazioni sul nome etrusco di Caere e sulla magistratura cerite del IV secolo, *StEtr* 51, 557-571.
- Proietti, G. 1987, *Cerveteri*. Roma.
- Prodocimi, A. 1984, *Tavole Iguvine*. I. Firenze.
- Pryce, F.N. 1931, *Catalogue of Sculpture*. Vol. I, Part II. London.
- Rebuffat-Emmanuel: see Emmanuel-Rebuffat, D.
- REE: *Rivista di epigrafia etrusca*, in: *Studi Etruschi*.
- Rix, H. 1991, *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor*. I-II. Tübingen.
- Roma 1977: *Roma medio repubblicana. Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III A.C.* Roma.
- Roncagli, F. 1978-80, Osservazioni sui libri linteii etruschi, *RendPontAc. Arch.* 51-2, 3-21.
- Roncagli, F. 1979, Il Reparto di Antichità Etrusco-Italiche, *Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie. Bollettino* I,3, 53-114.
- Roncagli, F. 1996, Laris Puleas and Sisyphus: Mortals, Heroes, and Demons in the Etruscan Underworld, *Etruscan Studies* 3, 45-64.
- Roncagli, F. 1997, Iconographie funéraire et topographie de l'au-delà en Étrurie, *Les Étrusques. Les plus religieux des hommes* (XIIes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre: Paris 1992). Paris, 37-54.
- Ronzitti Orsolini, G. 1971, *Il mito dei sette a Tebe nelle urne volterrane*. (Studi dell'Ateneo Pisano 2). Firenze.
- Rumpf, A. 1928, *Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen*. Berlin.
- Sannibale, M. 1994, *Le urne cinerarie di età ellenistica*. Roma.
- Santuari 1985: *Santuari d'Etruria* (Catalogo della Mostra, Arezzo). Milano.
- Savignoni, L. 1900, Perugia. Tomba etrusca contenente ricca suppellettile funeraria, scoperta presso la città, *NSc* 553-560.
- Scheffer, C. 1994, The Arched Door in Late Etruscan Funerary Art, in: De Puma (ed.), 196-210.
- Sciattooli, A. 1915-1920, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti*.
- Serra Ridgway, Francesca R. 1987, Aspetti della necropoli ellenistica nel fondo Scatagliani ai Monterozzi, *Tarquinia 1987*, 255-259.
- Serra Ridgway, Francesca R. 1996, Later Etruscan sarcofagi, *JRA* 324-327.

- Sgubini Moretti, A.M. 1991, *Tuscania. Il Museo Archeologico*. Roma.
- Sgubini Moretti, A.M. 1993, *Vulci e il suo territorio*. Roma.
- Small J.P. 1981, *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns*. Roma.
- Spectacles 1993: *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique* (Actes de la table ronde, Éc. Franç., Rome 1991). Rome.
- Steingräber, S. 1979, *Etruskische Möbel*. Roma.
- Steingräber, S. 1984, *Pittura etrusca*. Milano.
- StEtr: Studi Etruschi*.
- Steuernagel, D. 1998, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar. Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern* (DAI Palilia 3). Wiesbaden.
- Svoronos, J.N.A. 1886, Scenen aus der Ilias auf einem etruskischen Sarkophage, *Jdl* 1, 205-210.
- Talamone 1982: *Talamone. Il mito dei Sette a Tebe*. (Catalogo della Mostra, Firenze 1982). Firenze.
- Tarquinia 1986: M. Bonghi Jovino (ed.), *Gli Etruschi di Tarquinia* (Catalogo della Mostra). Milano/Modena.
- Tarquinia 1987: M. Bonghi Jovino - C. Chiaramonte Treré (eds.), *Tarquinia: ricerche, scavi e prospettive* (Atti del Convegno Milano 1986). Milano.
- ThesLE I* 1978: *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae I. Indice Lessicale* (Pallottino, M. e Pandolfini Angeletti, M. eds.) Roma.
- Thimme, J. 1954, Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. I, *StEtr* 23, 25-147.
- Thimme, J. 1957, Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. II, *StEtr* 25, 87-160.
- Thuillier, J.-P. 1985, *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque*. Rome.
- TLE* 1968²: M. Pallottino (ed.), *Testimonia linguae etruscae*. Firenze.
- Torelli, M. 1981, *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine*. Milano.
- Van der Meer, L.B. 1977/1978, Etruscan Urns from Volterra, *BABesch* 52/3, 57-131.
- Van der Meer, L.B. 1982, Ludi scenici et gladiatorum munus. A Terracotta Arula in Florence, *BABesch* 57, 87-97.
- Van der Meer, L.B. 1985, Thematische Symmetrie in der etruskischen Kunst, *BABesch* 60, 72-93.
- Van der Meer, L.B. 1991, Iphigenia aulidensis on Etruscan Urns from Volterra, *StEtr* 57, 119-136.
- Van der Meer, L.B. 1993, Tragédie et réalité. Programmes iconographiques des sarcophages étrusques, *Spectacles sportifs*, 379-393.
- Van der Meer, L.B. 1995, *Interpretatio etrusca. Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*. Amsterdam 1995.
- Van der Meer, L.B. forthcoming, The Saving of Patroclus' Body on a Tarquinian sarcophagus (H118). An Etruscan cyclic representation, *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Mauro Cristofani* (Prospettiva). Siena.
- Von Freytag, Bettina, gen. Löringhoff 1986, *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon und seine Haltung innerhalb der Ikonographie der "Sieben gegen Theben"*. Mainz.
- Watzinger, C., 1905 *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit des Alexanders des Grossen*. Leipzig.
- Zevi, F. 1996, Prigionieri Troiani, *StMisc* 30, 115-127.

FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY
POSTBUS 9515
NL 2300 RA LEIDEN

Dating proposal concerning Hellenistic alabaster urns from Chiusi

A chronological appendix to E. Brunn-G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche I-III*

Natalie L.C. Stevens

The chronology of the alabaster urns from the Hellenistic period in Chiusi (c. 140 urns) is a complex problem. Until now no absolute dates have been attributed to the majority of the single urns.¹ Mainly J. Thimme (1954 and 1957), M. Michelucci (1977), A. Maggiani (1990), and G. Colonna (1993) have done profound research on relative and absolute chronology. Thimme attributes the alabaster urns to three *Stilstufen* (each with a length of c. 25 years) on the basis of the placing order in the tombs (as far as possible), prosopographical research, and stylistic development of the reliefs and lid figures. Thimme dates the alabaster urns from Chiusi between c. 200 and 125 B.C., which has now been generally assumed to be some 50 years too late. Michelucci brings well datable grave gifts into the chronological research. Using this method he is able to date one urn which is relevant for the present studies quite exactly (Table, no. 104).² In most cases this method will give only a *terminus post quem*. Maggiani provides us by palaeographical research a dating possibility based on the inscriptions. On the basis of this method he attempts to date some urns from the *Tomba della Pellegrina* quite accurately. I will return to these urns later. Colonna dates the alabaster urns from Chiusi between c. 250 and 170 B.C. Because of the strong similarities between the Chiusine sarcophagi and the urns it is possible to attribute both categories to the same system of development. The sarcophagi production in Chiusi broke the age-long *statue-cinerario*-tradition when inhumation superseded cremation.³ This change took place between the end of the 4th and the middle of the 3rd century B.C. If we assume that the sarcophagi production in Chiusi started in this period, the group of urns can be attributed to the *fase matura* (c. in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.), that follows the *fase di transizione*, in which mainly sarcophagi with smooth surfaced chests occur. Colonna dates one sarcophagus with a Celtomachy scene (no. 145), the supposed prototype of the Celtomachy sarcophagi and urns, to this *fase di transizione* as well, between c. 260 and 250 B.C.⁴ The sarcophagi production entered a crisis from c. 200 B.C. onwards, the *fase finale*, and ended c. 180-170 B.C. The urn production from now on was limited to travertine

and terracotta samples with simple and repeated schemes.⁵ Results of Maggiani and Colonna are for the most part congruent, and supplement each other. One simple method that may be useful in determining a relative chronology or in attributing the urns to workshops has always been overlooked: comparing the measures of all samples. Chests with the same measures could have been produced in the same workshop. Once divided into groups, one can mutually compare schemes and styles. This new research has the aim (a) to define the first Chiusine workshop, from which the designed compositions spread over other workshops in Chiusi (if there were any), and later over workshops in mainly Volterra; (b) to attribute the (alabaster) urns from Chiusi if possible to – artificial – generations of c. 25 years each; (c) to define beginning and ending of the Chiusine urn production. The results of my research have been inserted in Tables at the end of this article. These Tables can be used as a chronological appendix to Brunn-Körte 1870-1916 on the alabaster urns from Chiusi.

When using this new method, it is striking that among the many non-standardised measures two sizes frequently occur: c. 85-90 x 55-65 x 45-50 cm, and c. 55-65 x 45-50 x 30 cm. The first group I will call 'large type', the second group 'small type'.⁶ It should be noticed that the small type is one third of the total volume of the large type (*Fig. 1*). Therefore

¹ The English text has been corrected by Alistair Bright. This article is an adapted version of the first chapter of my master thesis in Classical Archaeology at Leiden University (2001). In this study I exclude urns with non-mythological decorations as well as the majority of the urns with Celtomachy scenes made after the first generation, and the urns of which no photographs, drawings or measures are known to me, unless descriptions by Brunn-Körte are sufficient. The total amount may therefore be larger than 140. Some urns have been made of other materials. Because of the stylistic and schematic similarities I choose to deal with them too. In these special cases the material category will be mentioned separately.

² Michelucci 1977, 186, fig. 32 (c. 220-200 B.C.).

³ Colonna 1993, 338 ff.

⁴ Colonna 1993, 350.

⁵ Maggiani 1985 (I), 34-35; Colonna 1993, 363.

⁶ Because of the difficulties in measuring the irregularly shaped urns we shall keep a margin of c. 5 cm.

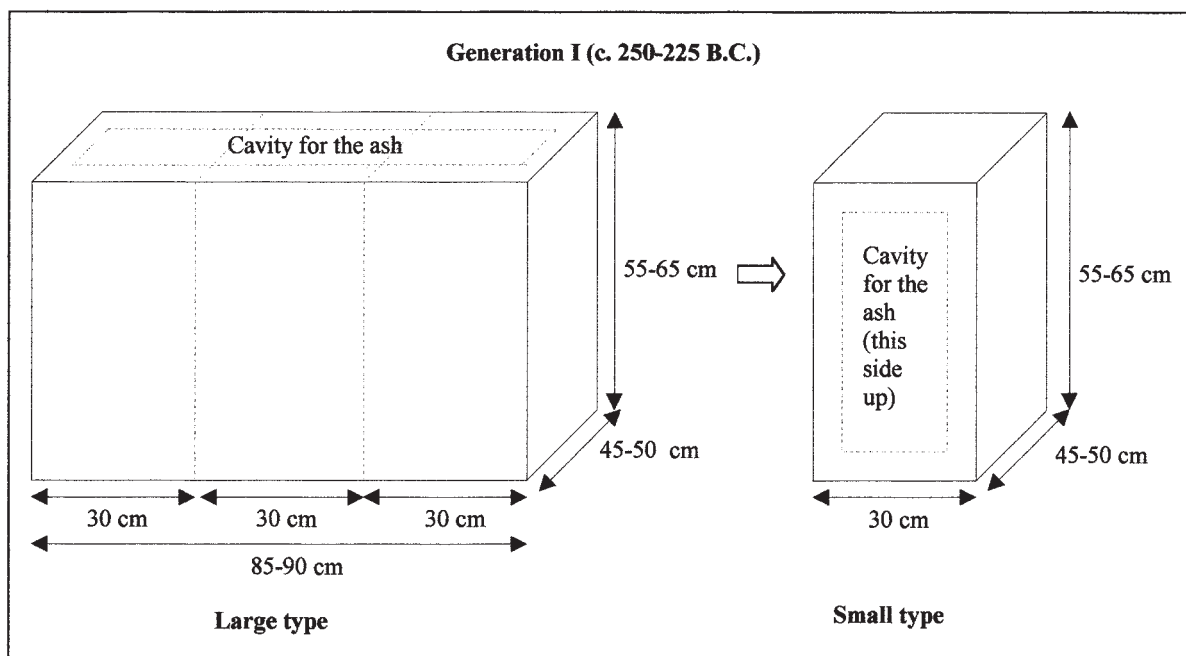


Fig. 1

one can presume that both types were produced in the same workshop. The group of the large type consists of c. 45 samples, the small group of c. 25, which amounts to c. 50 % of all alabaster urns from Chiusi with mythological representations.⁷ The question is whether to consider both groups together as the product of one workshop or as that of one generation. In my opinion the second option is most likely, though the possibility can not be excluded that only one workshop was active in Chiusi. This possibility even seems to be very likely, because of the fact that the proportion between the number of urns and the period in which they were produced (c. 140 samples in c. 75 years (3 generations)) is an average number of c. 2 urns a year. The following facts at least support my hypothesis.

Firstly, it is remarkable that all c. 27 schemes/themes that appear in Chiusi are represented with at least one urn: 22 schemes/themes of the large type, 5 of the small type, and various schemes of the large type are represented once or twice in the group of the small type. No other groups with congruent measures have such a large number of different schemes.

Secondly, each representation of a scheme in the group of the large and the small type happens to be the most complex one of its series. In some cases it is even most similar to its Greek or Etruscan antecedents. Two schemes in which this phenomenon is well visible are the complex scheme of 'Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos' and the scheme

of 'Meleagros and Atalante and the Calydonian boar hunt'. A bronze mirror from Bolsena (c. 300 B.C.) shows a dead horse lying on the basis of the altar on which Achilles and Aias are kneeling.⁸ The horse reappears on Chiusine urns on only two samples of the large type (no. 5-6). The other samples of the series show the less complex composition of two kneelers on an altar, and two or more approaching enemies behind them. This simple scheme appears on urns of the large and small type (no. 7, 8, 9, 63, 65) as well as on urns with no standardised measures. The horse reappears once again on a unique urn (no. 47) showing the substitution of Troilos by a sacrificial animal. This urn belongs to the group of the small type. A tree in the centre of the composition used to be part of the scheme of 'Meleagros and Atalante'. This scheme goes back to a Greek model from the 5th and 4th century B.C.⁹ The tree reappears on only two Chiusine urns, among which one of the large type (no. 46).

Thirdly, most of the unique schemes that are difficult to interpret, can all be attributed to the groups of the large or the small type.

⁷ Vide supra, note 1.

⁸ London, B.M. 625 (B 73). *ES* V,2, pl. 110; *LIMC* I,1, Achle no. 22.

⁹ See F.S. Kleiner's reconstruction of a Polygnotan archetype of the scene (c. 460 B.C.) on the basis of the 5th and 4th century representations (Kleiner 1972, 17, Fig. 6).

Fourthly, almost all urns from the series of the 'Death of Hippolytos' can be attributed to the group of the large type. The series appears only in the Chiusine urn production and seems to have no antecedents or contemporaneous and later parallels (except for the reliefs on the short sides of a few Attic sarcophagi that have been dated between c. 200 and 225 A.D.).¹⁰

Finally, the measures of the small type are similar to an alabaster Chiusine urn with a smooth chest (*Holztruhe*-type), which has been dated early under general agreement.¹¹

In my opinion all these facts point to the conclusion that the large and the small type urns form a group of prototypes of the Chiusine urn production. The group nevertheless contains some samples that must have been made a short time after the prototypes. These urns, however, do not seem to have been made strictly according to the standardised measures anymore. The development seems to have been the following: at the beginning of the urn production the Chiusine artisans developed a large number of schemes, mostly with the help of Greek or Etruscan examples. The most suitable schemes were used again, and schemes that were considered too complex, reappeared in a simplified form. This *modus operandi* could probably explain why the scheme of the 'Death of Hippolytos' went out of use so soon. The scheme is of an extraordinary complexity, and difficult to make. When the generation of artisans that was capable of producing the scheme became extinct, the next generation did not succeed in executing the scheme anymore. There was no possibility of simplifying, because all the elements (quadriga, attacking bull, victim and demon) were necessary. Therefore the scheme possibly went out of use too early to become adopted by Volterranean and Perugian artisans. The composition in a less complex form (among other things without the bull, which is difficult to render as far as perspective is concerned) seems nevertheless to have been adopted for the 'Death of Oinomaos' that does reappear in Volterra. As for the question of the unique schemes a 'special commission' is also possible.

In my opinion the second generation consists of all alabaster urns with schemes directly related to the prototype, that are simplified though, and do not belong to the group of the large or the small type. The third and last generation seems to consist of all alabaster urns with strongly simplified, degenerated schemes, in which humans have frequently been replaced by demons (Vanth). Only a small number of urns could be attributed to this generation. The rise and the take over of the less expensive, terracotta urns produced by matrix could explain this phenomenon. Thus the Chiusine urn production seems to develop

from high complexity and carefully fabricated specimens to simplified and less elaborated, a tendency that is visible later in Volterra as well.¹² Research on the spread of the urns over Chiusi and its territory reveals the presence of Chiusine urns from the first generation in Chiusi as well as in the surrounding cities (Città della Pieve, Cetona and Sarteano). Five supposed prototypes have even been found in Città della Pieve (3 specimens) and Cetona (2 specimens). This, in my opinion, points to a situation in which only one workshop was active in Chiusi. This workshop must have been situated in Chiusi itself because of the large number of urns found in the direct surroundings of the city. From here urns must have been exported over the territory from the experimental stadium onwards.

If we count c. 25 years for one generation, the total production period of alabaster urns in Chiusi takes c. 75 years. Now the relative chronology seems to have been fixed roughly, we can try to determine the absolute chronology. Preferably we need a reliable starting and/or an ending point, and as many touchstones as possible: urns that Maggiani and/or Colonna date quite precisely. Important in this question are urns with *Celtomachy* and *hierosylia* scenes (Celts attacked by Greek horsemen, respectively Celts (?) plundering a sanctuary) (no. 56, 60, 64, 66, 98; 67). Both scenes appear on some Chiusine sarcophagi (no. 143-145; 141-142).¹³ Remarkable is that the size of a large type urn is exactly half the size of the majority of these sarcophagi. In my opinion this may point to an origin from the same workshop and the same date. Colonna dates a sarcophagus with maybe the first *Celtomachy* scene (no. 145) c. 260-250 B.C., in his *fase transizionale*.¹⁴ A sarcophagus with a *hierosylia* scene (no. 141) can be dated to c. 250-240 B.C.¹⁵ The date of the *Celtomachy* sarcophagus no. 145 seems to provide us a *terminus post quem* for the Chiusine urn production.

If we take as the starting point of the production of alabaster urns in Chiusi c. 250 B.C., the second generation would start c. 225 B.C., the third c. 200 B.C.,

¹⁰ Saint Petersburg, Hermitage A 432; Trieste, M.C. 3081; Agrigento, Duomo. *LIMC* V, Hippolytos I no. 117-119.

¹¹ Chiusi, M.A.N. 985. Thimme 1954, 29, Fig. 1; Maggiani, A. (ed.), *Artigianato artistico. L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica* (Milano 1985) 47, no. 21: probably between c. 275 and 250 B.C.

¹² Massa Pairault 1972, 62-76.

¹³ Herbig 1952, no. 12-14, 19, 78; Höckmann 1991, no. 7-8, Taf. 47, 2; 48, 1-2; Colonna 1993, 346, 351-355, note 50, 71-72, 90-91, Tav. 9 b-c; 13 a-b; 17.

¹⁴ Colonna 1993, 346 and note 50.

¹⁵ Colonna 1993, 354 and note 90; Maggiani 1985 (II), 119 note 7. U. Höckmann (1991, 204-206) dates the Chiusine sarcophagi after c. 200 B.C. Considering the present theory in my opinion this date would be too late.

and the end could be fixed at c. 175 B.C. It is not possible to provide concrete proof. Factors of importance in the fixation of a *terminus post quem non* could be (a) the lack of stylistic influences from Asia Minor (Pergamene and Rhodian style), that are visible in Volterra, and (b) possibly, an economic recession in Chiusi. An indication for (a) could be provided by a temple in Kyzikos (Asia Minor), built by Attalos II and Eumenes II, dedicated to their mother Apollonis.¹⁶ One of the *stylopinakia* of this temple shows a representation of Romulus and Remus, which points to connections with Rome. The temple has a *terminus post quem* of 191 B.C., when Eumenes II supported the Romans in their war against Antiochos I, and a *terminus ante quem* of 159 B.C., when Eumenes II died. Therefore it seems reasonable that between 191 and 159 B.C. the stylistic influences from Asia Minor became visible in the Etruscan visual arts. The space between the two dates is too large to fix an accurate date for the end of the Chiusine alabaster urn production. The end date as reconstructed by the supposed three generations nevertheless falls between the two dates. Livy describes Scipio Africanus taking with him artisans from Asia Minor (39, 22, 9-10: *congregatos per Asiam artifices*). This happened in 186 B.C. It means that from that year onwards artisans from Asia Minor stayed and worked in Italy, first at Rome, but maybe few years later in Etruria too. This date corresponds to my reconstructed date of c. 175 B.C. The most important touchstones for my theory are the refined dates Maggiani using his method (see above) attributed to four urns from the *Tomba della Pellegrina* in Chiusi, Pellegrina 2-5 (no. 63, 62, 64, 98).¹⁷ Maggiani dates Pellegrina 2, an urn with a representation of 'Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos' c. 240 B.C., so to our first generation. The urn is indeed of the small type, thus datable to the first generation. Colonna too dates the urn early: he compares its style with the style of the sarcophagi from c. 250 B.C.¹⁸ Pellegrina 3, with the representation of 'Cacu and the Vibenna brothers' seems to be the urn of the father of the young man of Pellegrina 2. The boy died many years before his father.¹⁹ Maggiani therefore dates Pellegrina 3 c. 210 B.C., to our second generation. However, the urn belongs to the small type, so to our first generation, so that our theory seems to fail. Colonna nevertheless notes stylistic similarities between Pellegrina 3 and the *hierosylia* sarcophagus (see above) that can be dated to our first generation. Maggiani dates Pellegrina 4, an urn of the large type, decorated with a Celtomachy scene, c. 230 B.C., to our first generation. Maggiani dates Pellegrina 5, situated next to Pellegrina 4, the urn of the brother of Pellegrina 4, c. 220 B.C. This urn, also with a Celtomachy scene, does not belong to

the large or the small type. The urn does have a length and height similar to the large type (79 x 58 cm), but the depth is already different from that of the large type (30 cm instead of c. 45 cm). The urn seems to be a transitional urn between our first and second generation (c. 225 B.C.).

Michelucci dates an urn from the nachrni-tomb in Chianciano-Terne (no. 104) between 220 and 200 B.C. using grave gifts.²⁰ On the basis of the method explained in this article the urn, with a degenerated representation of 'Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos' (the number of attackers has been reduced to two; moreover they have been replaced by death demons) can be dated between c. 200 and 175 B.C., to our third generation.

The afore mentioned facts show that my theory is in accordance with the dates Michelucci, Maggiani and Colonna propose on the basis of different methods. The method proposed in this article, therefore, seems a useful addition and touchstone of the earlier studies on the chronology, and a basis for the dating of alabaster urns from Chiusi.

CONCLUSION

Summarising it can be concluded that the production of alabaster urns from Chiusi and its territory starts c. 250 B.C. and covers three generations of c. 25 years each. C. 175 B.C. the less expensive terracotta urn production takes over and the alabaster urn production ends. Because of the relatively small number of urns it seems likely that only one workshop was active. This workshop supplied Chiusi as well as its territory. The first generation (c. 250-225 B.C.) consists of carefully manufactured urns with standardised sizes (the 'large type' (c. 85-90 x 55-65 x 45 cm) and the 'small type' (c. 55-65 x 45-50 x 30 cm)). All themes appearing in Chiusi have been represented in this first generation. Some schemes in this first generation are most similar to

¹⁶ L.B. van der Meer, *BABesch* 52/3 (1977/1978) 68.

¹⁷ Maggiani 1990, 207 ff.; 215, Fig. 22.

¹⁸ Colonna 1993, 356. Colonna reconstructs the family tree differently to Maggiani. Maggiani identifies Pellegrina 2 (larth sentinate) as the early deceased son of cae sentinate (Pellegrina 3). The homonymous larth sentinate of Pellegrina 1 (because of its non-mythological representation this urn is not dealt with in the present studies) Maggiani considers as the father of cae. Colonna changes the places of both larths in the family tree. Although this does not change the chronological order of Pellegrina 2 and 3, in Colonna's proposal we lose the idea of a son, who died before his father. The 'Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos' theme on Pellegrina 2 seems to point to the *mors immatura*. Therefore I am inclined to follow Maggiani's proposal.

¹⁹ See note 18.

²⁰ Michelucci 1977, 186, fig. 32.

their Greek or Etruscan antecedents. The second generation (c. 225-200 B.C.) consists of urns with somewhat simplified schemes and with sizes different from the size of the large and small type. Some of the complex schemes of the first generation are missing in the second generation. Only a few alabaster urns belong to the third generation. These urns are characterised by highly degenerated schemes, symmetrical compositions, a small number of figures, and replacement of mortals by death demons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brunn, E. - Körte, G. 1870-1916, *I rilievi delle urne Etrusche* I-III, Roma.
- Camporeale, G. 1959, L'amazzonomachia in Etruria, *StEtr* 27, 107-137.
- Colonna, G. 1993, I sarcofagi chiusini di età ellenistica, in: *La Civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio*, Firenze, 339-374.
- Denoyelle, M. 1995, Iconographie mythique et personnalité artistique dans la céramique protoitalique, in: *Modi e funzioni del racconto mitico nella ceramica greca italica ed etrusca dal VI al IV secolo A.C. Atti del convegno internazionale*, Salerno, 83-101.
- Gerhard, E., Klügmann, K. and Körte, G. 1884-1897, *Etruskische Spiegel* V, Berlin.
- Herbig, R. 1952, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 7), Berlin.
- Höckmann, U. 1991, Gallierdarstellungen in der etruskischen Grabkunst des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., *Jdl* 106, 199-230.
- Kleiner, F. S. 1972, The Kalydonian Hunt: A Reconstruction of a Painting from the Circle of Polygnotos, *AK* 15, 7-19.
- Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich-München 1981-1999.
- Maggiani, A. 1985 (I), Le urne cinerarie, in: Maggiani, A. (ed.), *Artigianato artistico. L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica*, Milano, 32-35.
- Maggiani, A. 1985 (II), I sarcofagi, in: Maggiani, A. (ed.), *Artigianato artistico. L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica*, Milano, 119.
- Maggiani, A. 1990, Alfabeti etruschi di età ellenistica, *AnnMuseoFaina* 4, 177-217.
- Michelucci, M. 1977, Per una cronologia delle urne chiuse. Riesame di alcuni contesti di scavo, in: M. Martelli, - M. Cristofani (eds.) 1977, *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche*, Firenze, 93-102.
- Pairault, F.-H. 1972, *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques*, Rome.
- Pryce, F.N. 1931, *A catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities of the British Museum* Vol. I, ii: *Cypriote and Etruscan*, London.
- Small, J.P. 1981, *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns* (Archeologica 20), Roma.
- Steuernagel, D. 1998, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar. Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern*, (Palilia 3), Wiesbaden.
- Thimme, J. 1954, Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der etruskischen Kunst, *StEtr* 23, 26-147.
- Thimme, J. 1957, Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der etruskischen Kunst, *StEtr* 25, 87-160.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BK = Brunn-Körte 1870-1916.
 ES = Gerhard, Klügmann, Körte 1884-1897.
 LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.
 PT = Prototype.

VAN ALPHENLAAN 18
 NL 1985 CB DRIEHUIS

Tables:
The chronology of the alabaster urns from Chiusi (a chronological appendix to BK)

Generation I (c. 250-225 B.C.)

| No. | BK-no. ¹ | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme | Large/small type |
|-----|---------------------|---|--|--|------------------|
| 1 | BK I, 16, 33 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63007 (952) | Chiusi | Paris threatened (PT) | Small |
| 2 | BK I, 47, 26 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 955 (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Iphigeneia in Aulis | Large |
| 3 | BK I, 50, 5 | London, B.M. D 36-37 (coll. E. Braun) | Chiusi | Death of Troilos (PT) | Large |
| 4 | BK I, 52, 10 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 954 (ex coll. Pipparello) | Chiusi, San Giovanni, cupna-tomb | Death of Troilos | Small |
| 5 | BK I, 54, 14 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8461 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi, loc. Il Colle (lid) | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos (complex scheme) (PT) | Large |
| 6 | BK I, 54, 14a | Montepulciano, palazzo Bucelli, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73 | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos (complex scheme) | Large |
| 7 | BK I, 64, 33 | Disappeared (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos | Small |
| 8 | BK I, 64, 34 | Montepulciano, palazzo Bucelli, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73 | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos | Small |
| 9 | BK I, 65, 36 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63018 (667 bis) (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi (lid: mareni-tomb) | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos | Large |
| 10 | BK I, 77, 4 | Siena, M.A. 68111 (729 (81)) (ex palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano, pod. Le Tombe, (sentinate) cumere(sa)-tomb | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos | Small |
| 11 | BK I, 79, 9 | Florence, M.A. 5767 (91) ex Museo della Società Colombaria) | Chiusi | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos (PT) | Large |
| 12 | BK I, 82, 14 | Florence, M.A. 5771 (93) (ex Museo della Società Colombaria, Florence) | Chiusi | Orestes and Pylades (PT) | Small |
| 13 | BK I, 84, 1 | Florence, M.A. 5777 (98) | Chiusi, pod. Colle Lucioi | Iphigeneia in Tauris (PT) | Large |
| 14 | BK I, 84, 2 | Siena, M.A. 730 (79) (ex palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano, pod. Le Tombe, (sentinate) cumere(sa)-tomb | Iphigeneia in Tauris | Large |
| 15 | BK I, 84, 2a | Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.298 (H.I.N. 61) (ex coll. Giorgi-Taccini, Città della Pieve) | Città della Pieve, purni-tomb | Iphigeneia in Tauris | Large |
| 16 | BK I, 85, 4 | Florence, M.A. 74625 (92) | Città della Pieve, purni-tomb | Death of Agamemnon | Small |

¹ If not in BK another publication is mentioned. These items have been put in alphabetical order of place of conservation.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|---|--|--|-------|
| 17 | BK I, 89, 4 | Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.299 (H.I.N. 62) | Le Cardetelle (between Cetona and Chiusi), vetana-tomb | Odysseus at Kirke's palace | Large |
| 18 | BK I, 98, 7 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63016/7 (529) (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi, marcni-tomb | Odysseus: murder of the suitors | Large |
| 19 | BK I, 98, 8 | Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.296 (H.I.N. 59) (ex coll. Terrosi, Cetona) | Le Cardetelle (between Cetona and Chiusi), vetana-tomb | Life of Paris? | Large |
| 20 | BK II, 1, 8a | Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 1285 | Chiusi | Menelaos and Helen/Tydeus and Ismene/Alkmaon's matricide (?) | Large |
| 21 | BK II, 1A, 2 | Grosseto, M.A. e d'Arte della Maremma 1988 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi, loc. II Colle | Gigantomachy | Small |
| 22 | BK II, 2, 1 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 30 (303) | Chiusi | Kadmos | Small |
| 23 | BK II, 10, 5 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 950 (travertine) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel | Small |
| 24 | BK II, 11, 2 | Grosseto, M.A. e d'Arte della Maremma 3726 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel | Small |
| 25 | BK II, 11, 2f | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 62 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel | Small |
| 26 | BK II, 11, 3 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 39 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel | Small |
| 27 | BK II, 12, 4 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8469 (72) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel (PT) | Large |
| 28 | BK II, 13, 1b | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 69 (tufa) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel | Small |
| 29 | BK II, 13, 2 | Florence, M.A. 5713 (465) (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel (PT) | Large |
| 30 | BK II, 15, 2 | London, B.M. D 40-41 | Chiusi, hypogaeum R. Conservatorio | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel | Large |
| 31 | BK II, 15, 3 | Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 1283 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel | Small |
| 32 | BK II, 23, 7 | Chiusi (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Siege of Thebes | Small |
| 33 | BK II, 24, 8 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63012 (215) (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi, marcni-tomb | Siege of Thebes (PT) | Large |
| 34 | BK II, 24, 9 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 11257 (33) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Siege of Thebes | Large |
| 35 | BK II, 33, 2 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 42 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 36 | BK II, 34, 3 | Siena, M.A. 728 (ex palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano, pod. Le Tombe | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 37 | BK II, 34, 4 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63015 (526) | Chiusi, marcni-tomb | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 38 | BK II, 34, 4a | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63010 (975) (ex coll. Pipparello) | Chiusi, Romitorio, sentinate-tomb | Death of Hippolytos | Large |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|--|---|--|-------|
| 39 | BK II, 35, 5 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 563 | Chiusi, pod. Santa Mustiola | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 40 | BK II, 35, 5a | Florence, M.A. 5776 (ex coll. Pipparello) | Chiusi, Romitorio, sentinate-tomb | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 41 | BK II, 35, 5d | Sarteano, palazzo Bargagli (now in Siena, M.A. ?) | Chiusi | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 42 | BK II, 36, 6 | London, B.M. D 44-45 | Chiusi, agro François | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 43 | BK II, 45, 10 | Florence, M.A. 5651 (ex Società Colombaria, Florence) | Chiusi | Death of Oinomaos (PT) | Large |
| 44 | BK II, 46, 12b | Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 1273 | Chiusi | Death of Oinomaos | Large |
| 45 | BK II, 57, 3 | Disappeared (ex coll. Gigli, Florence) | Chiusi, Deposito delle Monache, umrana-tomb | Meleagros and Atalante | Small |
| 46 | BK II, 58, 5 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 41 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante (PT) | Large |
| 47 | BK II, 79, 1 | Paris, Musée du Louvre (ex coll. Campana) | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos (unique scheme) | Small |
| 48 | BK II, 82, 1 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63023 (236) | Chiusi, pod. Santa Mustiola, cummi-tomb | Murder on an altar | Small |
| 49 | BK II, 82, 2 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8456 (49 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Murder on an altar | Large |
| 50 | BK II, 116, 1 | Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 1279 | Chiusi | Death of Myrtilos | Small |
| 51 | BK II, 119, 1a | Florence, M.A. 74233 | Città della Pieve, purni-tomb | Cacu and the Vibenna brothers | Large |
| 52 | BK II, 119, 2 | Florence, M.A. 5801 | Chiusi | Cacu and the Vibenna brothers | Large |
| 53 | BK II, 261 ff. | Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.300 (H.I.N. 63) | Città della Pieve, purni-tomb | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel (PT) | Large |
| 54 | BK II, 263 ff. | Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.297 (H.I.N. 60) (ex Pacini) | Città della Pieve, purni-tomb | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel | Large |
| 55 | BK III, 124, 3, Fig. 42 | Munich, Antiquarium 607 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel | Small |
| 56 | BK III, 157, 8b | Florence, M.A. 74232 | Città della Pieve | Celtomachy (?) | Large |
| 57 | BK III, 190a | Chiusi, M.A.N. 986 (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos? | Large |
| 58 | BK III, 236, 15b | Siena, M.A. 721 (ex palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano, pod. Le Tombe | Death of Troilos | Small |
| 59 | BK III, 242-245, Abb. 59 | Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 1287 | Chiusi | Dionysos and Ariadne? | Small |
| 60 | Camporeale 1959, 136 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63001 (569) | Sarteano, pod. delle Monache | Celtomachy | Large |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|-------|
| 61 | <i>LJMC</i> I, Achle no. 35 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63019 (948 A) | Chiusi | Death of Troilos | Large |
| 62 | Maggiani 1990, no. 3, Tav. 4,5 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63584 (Tomba della Pellegrina, no. 3) | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina | Cacu and the Vibenna brothers | Small |
| 63 | Maggiani 1990, no. 2, Tav. 4,3 | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina, no. 2 | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos | Small |
| 64 | Maggiani 1990, no. 4, Tav. 4,4 | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina no. 4 | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina | Celtomachy | Large |
| 65 | Stuernagel 1998, no. 249, Taf. 41,2 | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina no. 15 | Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos (PT) | Large |
| 66 | Höckmann 1991, no. 9, Taf. 49,1 | Florence, M.A. 5797 | Chius, Scavi di Soc. Colombaria | Celtomachy | Small |
| 67 | Höckmann 1991, no. 2, Taf. 45,1 | Florence, M.A. 81692 | Chiusi | Celts, plundering a sanctuary | Small |
| 68 | Pryce 1931, Fig. 62-64 | London, B.M. D 42-43 | Chiusi, agro François | Death of Hippolytos | Large |
| 69 | Denoyelle 1995, 87 ff., Fig. 3 | Marseille, Musée Borély 1647 | Chiusi | Kanake? | Large |

Generation II (c. 225-200 B.C.)

| No. | BK-no. | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme |
|-----------|--------------|---|--|--|
| 70 | BK I, 16, 34 | Siena, M.A. 732, (87) (ex palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano, pod. Le Tombe | Paris threatened |
| 71 | BK I, 52, 9 | Cortona, Museo dell' Accademia Etrusca 1002 | Chiusi | Death of Troilos |
| 72 | BK I, 53, 11 | Palermo? (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Death of Troilos |
| 73 | BK I, 53, 12 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63009 (964) | Pod. delle Monache (between Chiusi and Sarteano) | Death of Troilos |
| 74 | BK I, 61, 27 | Florence, M.A. 5756 (ex Società Colombaria, Florence) | Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |
| 75 | BK I, 62, 30 | Cortona, Mus. dell'Accademia Etrusca 1001 | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |
| 76 | BK I, 63, 31 | Disappeared (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |
| 77 | BK I, 65, 35 | Disappeared (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| 78 | BK I, 77, 5 | Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro | Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos |
| 79 | BK I, 78, 7 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63021 (234) (ex palazzo vescovile, Chiusi) | Chiusi, pod. Santa Mustiola, cummi-tumb | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos |
| 80 | BK I, 82, 15 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 951 | Chiusi, S. Giovanni, cupna-tomb? | Orestes and Pylades |
| 81 | BK I, 85, 3 | Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 1281 | Chiusi | Cacu and the Vibenna brothers |
| 82 | BK II, 10, 4 | Cortona, Museo dell' Accademia Etrusca E 1021 A | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel |
| 83 | BK II, 11, 2e | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 64 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 84 | BK II, 13, 1 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8474 (57) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi (white local calcareous stone) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |
| 85 | BK II, 13, 1a | Florence, M.A. 5712 (542) (ex Castiglione-Fiorentino) (marble) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |
| 86 | BK II, 16, 4 | Siena, M.A. 731 (84) (ex coll. Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano, (seninate) cumere(sa)-tomb | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |
| 87 | BK II, ad 24, 9a | Siena, M.A. 737 (ex palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano) | Sarteano | Siege of Thebes |
| 88 | BK II, 45, 11 | Grosseto, M.A. e d'Arte della Maremma 1985 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi, loc. Il Colle | Death of Oinomaos |
| 89 | BK II, 46, 12 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 892 ² | Ponte dell' Astrone | Death of Oinomaos |
| 90 | BK II, 57, 3d | Florence, M.A. 5649 | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 91 | BK II, 58, 4 | Grosseto, M.A. e d'Arte della Maremma 1984 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi, loc. Il Colle | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 92 | BK II, 93, 1 | Disappeared (ex coll. Giglio, Florence) Monache, umrana-tomb | Chiusi, Deposito delle | Death of Troilos |
| 93 | BK III, 234, 16, 33a | Florence, M.A. 89196 (ex coll. Farinola; ex coll. Giulietti) | Chiusi, hele-tomb | Paris threatened |
| 94 | BK III, 246, 58, 4c | Bologna, M.C.A. IT 1275 | Madonna di Riguardo (between Chiusi and Cetona) | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 95 | LJMC VIII Troilos no. 16 | Chicago, Field-Museum 26120 | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |

² On stylistic grounds and the fact that the measures almost conform to the requirements of the first generation (83 x 49 x 42 cm) the urn can probably be considered as a transitional urn between the first and second generation.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 96 | Stuernagel 1998, no. 224, Taf. 38,4 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 968 | Chiusi | Orestes and Pylades |
| 97 | Stuernagel 1998, Taf. 24, 3-4 | Chiusi, M.A.N. (without inv. no.) | Chiusi, tomba della Barcaccia (II) | Paris threatened |
| 98 | Maggiani 1990, no. 5. Tav. 4,4 | Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina no. 5 | Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina | Celtomachy |
| 99 | Thimme 1954, 117-119, 128 ff., no. 16 | Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina, (without inv. no.) | Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina? | Death of Hippolytos |

Generation III (c. 200-175 B.C.)

| No. | BK-no. | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme |
|------------|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| 100 | BK I, 15, 32 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8477 (32) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Paris threatened |
| 101 | BK I, 63, 32 | Florence, M.A. 5770 (94) (ex Museo della Società Colombaria, Florence) | Chiusi | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |
| 102 | BK II, 10, 4a | Montepulciano, palazzo Buccioni, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel |
| 103 | BK II, 78, 7 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 284599 (ex 1014 A) (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Iphigeneia in Tauris |
| 104 | Michellucci 1977, Fig. 32 | Chianciano Terme, M.A. "delle Acque" 73727 | Chianciano Terme, nachrni-tomb | Achilleus and Aias after the murder of Troilos |

Uncertain date (I or II)³

| No. | BK-no. | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme |
|------------|--------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 105 | BK I, 77, 4a | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 43 (?) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos |
| 106 | BK I, 78, 6 | London, B.M. D 38-39 | Chiusi | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos |
| 107 | BK I, 78, 7a | Disappeared (ex coll. Gori) | Chiusi | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos |
| 108 | BK I, 79, 8 | Grosseto, M.A. e d'Arte della Maremma 1987 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi, loc. Il Colle | Death of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos |
| 109 | BK II, 33, 1 | Florence, coll. R. Giglio (at least in the '70 of the 20th century) | Chiusi, hypogaeum R. Conservatorio, umrana-tomb | Death of Hippolytos |

³ Urns in this category seem to belong to generation I for one reason, but to generation II for another, for example: complexity points to generation I, but measures to generation II. Sometimes there are not enough data available to decide whether or not to attribute the urn to I or II, but on the basis of the scheme we can exclude that it belongs to generation III.

| | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|--|------------------------|------------------------|
| 110 | BK II, 33, 2a | Disappeared (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Death of Hippolytos |
| 111 | BK II, 34, 3a | Disappeared (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Death of Hippolytos |
| 112 | BK II, 35, 5c | Disappeared (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi; ex coll. Terrosi, Cetona) | Chiusi | Death of Hippolytos |
| 113 | BK II, 46, 12a | Disappeared (ex artshop) | Chiusi | Death of Oinomaos |
| 114 | BK II, 57, 3a | Florence, villa (ex Casamorata) E. Rossi | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 115 | BK II, 57, 3b | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 55 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 116 | BK II, 57, 3c | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 67 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 117 | BK II, 58, 4a | Vatican, garden of Pigna | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 118 | BK II, 58, 4b | Perugia, Museo | Chiusi | Meleagros and Atalante |
| 119 | BK II, 116, 1a | Chiusi, Poggio al Moro | Chiusi, Poggio al Moro | Death of Oinomaos |
| 120 | BK III, 234 ff, 16, 34a | Disappeared (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi, hele-tomb | Paris threatened |

Uncertain date (II-III)⁴

| No. | BK-no. | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme |
|------------|---------------|--|-----------|---|
| 121 | BK I, 81, 12 | Disappeared (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Orestes and Pylades |
| 122 | BK II, 10, 4b | Montepulciano, palazzo Buccoli, Via del Gracciano nel Corso, 73 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel |
| 123 | BK II, 11, 2a | Disappeared (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 124 | BK II, 11, 2b | Chiusi, M.A.N. 72 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 125 | BK II, 11, 2c | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 58 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 126 | BK II, 11, 2d | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 68 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 127 | BK II, 11, 2g | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8452 (53) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 128 | BK II, 11, 2h | Disappeared (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 129 | BK II, 12, 5 | Cortona, Museo dell' Accademia Etrusca (no inv. no.) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 130 | BK II, 13, 1c | Chiusi, M.A.N. 466 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |
| 131 | BK II, 13, 2a | Disappeared (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |

⁴ Urns in this category show simple schemes, but the urns from the particular series show already simple schemes in generation I. Other urns show degenerated schemes, but are nonetheless worked out luxuriously. Although it can not be proved, I consider most of the urns to belong to generation II.

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| 132 | BK II, 15, 1 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 11778 (49) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |
| 133 | BK II, 17, 1 | Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 19016 | Castiglion del Lago | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |
| 134 | BK II, 23, 6 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 1013 A (37) | Chiusi | Siege of Thebes |
| 135 | BK II, 36, 6 (below) | Chiusi, M.A.N. 984 | Chiusi, San Giovanni, cupna-tomb | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel |
| 136 | BK II, 78, 8 | Disappeared | Chiusi | Iphigeneia in Tauris |
| 137 | BK II, 78, 8a | New York University Collection | Piansano | Iphigeneia in Tauris |
| 138 | BK III, 238, 36, 6a | Chiusi, M.A.N. 1053 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes before the duel |
| 139 | Small 1981, no. 51, Pl. 24a | Palermo, Mus. Reg. 66 | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes during the duel |
| 140 | Small 1981, no. 81, Pl. 36b | Chiusi, P 889 (local stone) | Chiusi | Eteokles and Polyneikes after the duel |

CHIUSINE SARCOPHAGI
Generation I (c. 250-225 B.C.)

| No. | BK-no. | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme |
|------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 141 | BK II, 88, 1 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 2272 | Chiusi | Celts plundering a sanctuary (?) |
| 142 | BK II, 88, 2 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. | Chiusi | Celts plundering a sanctuary (?) |
| 143 | BK III, 118, 8-8a | Chiusi, M.A.N. 62895 (752) | Chiusi, loc. Il Colle | Celtomachy |
| 144 | BK III, 155 ff. Abb. 28 | Florence, M.A. 77977 | Chiusi | Celtomachy |
| 145 | Herbig 1952, no. 12 | Chiusi, M.A.N. 63024 (973) | Chiusi | Celtomachy (PT) |
| 146 | Colonna 1993, 374, no. 21, Tav. 20 | Paris, Musée du Louvre MND 2316 | Chiusi | Death of Troilos |

Generation II (c. 225-200 B.C.)

| No. | BK-no. | Inventory number | Find-spot | Theme |
|------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| 147 | BK I, 54, 13 | Palermo, Mus. Reg. | Chiusi | Death of Troilos |

Zeus' Eagle

J.M. Hemelrijk

Now that a new catalogue of the sculptures of the Allard Pierson Museum has been published,¹ it is worth-while to draw special attention to certain pieces in this collection. We are happy to start, according to Ancient Greek fashion, with Zeus (*ek Dios archoometha*).²

EAGLE PERCHING ON A STAFF (inv. no. 8868, *Fig. 1a-f*)³

Acquired for the Allard Pierson Museum in 1974 from a private collection.⁴

Description

Left hand holding sceptre at upper end, grasping lower part of its finial; eagle perching on this finial, wings spread, head held high, turned slightly to its right.

A little less than half life-size.⁵ White marble, exceedingly fine-grained (looking very much like white limestone but with an occasional tiny crystal), covered with brownish incrustation. Much use of a drill (*Figs. 1e-f*), ca. 3 mm thick, but no trace of a running drill.

Reconstructed from five fragments.⁶ Surface worn. Back of bird (*Fig. 1d*) unworked (except for head); tail continuing downwards forming a sturdy strut connected with top of finial, and slanting downwards and to left (as seen from front, *Figs. 1a-b*), with a blunt edge along front and back, widening downwards so that it is oval in section at its end. Lower end (*Fig. 1a*) well-preserved and flat, clearly meant to be fixed into some part of statue. Staff and wrist broken off but perhaps partly preserving original smooth surface prepared for attachment to Zeus' arm and to staff by means of adhesives.

Zeus' hand finely shaped, slender fingers loosely holding top of sceptre, at its finial; index stretched over lower part or calyx of lotus flower. Finial lotus-like with calyx of three slender pointed sepals (two preserved) and corolla of, originally, three tall petals bent outwards, with scrolled or curling ends pierced with drill (one preserved; *Figs. 1a, b, e, f*). Eagle grasping centre of flower with bent claws (*Figs. 1a, e, f*). Claws open-worked, carved in great detail, deeply undercut and drilled between nails and 'fingers';⁷ paws carved in the round (right one partly preserved) and separated from tail, which is slightly spread. Wings half-spread (not fully stretched but as if flapping to keep balance). Feathers of upper sec-

tions shaped like scales, flight feathers indicated with long ridges. Breast feathers forming a net of delicately raised ridges with shallow depressions inside. Bill worn (its hook-shaped tip lacking); head worn too, now looking rather like a dove's head (*Figs. 1a, c, e*).

DISCUSSION

When the eagle-staff entered the Allard Pierson Museum we did not realize that the collection contained another image of a god holding a sceptre with an eagle on its top: it is painted on a big fragment of an Apulian bell krater with Hades (*Fig. 2a*) sitting in the Underworld.⁸ His sceptre, held in his lowered left hand leans against his shoulder, a bird perching on its lotus-shaped finial. This bird is painted in yellowish-white and dilute clay-paint, and looks, with

¹ Sc. APM = Eric M. Moormann, *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam; Collections of the Allard Pierson Museum 1; 2000, Amsterdam [ISBN 90-71211-32-0]; replacing the old catalogue of 1942 written by C.S. Ponger.

² Aratos, *Phainomena* 1ff; I owe this reference to my colleague prof. C.J. Ruysgh.

³ Sc. APM no. 268, p.197, pl.93 a-b. *Fig. 1a* photo museum; *figs. 1b-f* photos author.

⁴ Not from an official art dealer, as stated in Sc.APM, no. 268.

⁵ Dimensions: from bottom of strut to top of eagle's head 32 cm; from broken end of staff to top of head 30.5 cm; between outer tips of wings 17.5 cm; bird from tail to head 19 cm.

⁶ Broken into pieces and re-assembled before it entered the museum: head, right wing, flight feathers of left wing, hand (broken through index). Floral finial damaged and incomplete (only one upper petal preserved). Missing: middle part of eagle's right paw (uncovering the undercuttings made with a thick drill of ca 3 mm) and the entire left paw from claw to near top of leg. Some damage at top of wings.

⁷ Numerous drill holes along paws (once nearly invisible, surprisingly not channelled with running drill!) and five at, and around, claws; three between 'fingers'. Further traces of such holes: one on inside of left wing and one in 'arm-pit' of right one; two under middle finger of Zeus' hand; three in lotus-shaped finial; shallow depressions made with same thick drill all along inside of hand, and elsewhere.

⁸ Inv. 2586; CVA Pays-Bas 2, *Musée Scheurleer* 2, IV Db 8-9 pl. 6,1; see J. Chamay, *BABesch* 52-53 (1977-1978), 247 ff (*fig. 1*); Trendall, in a letter to Chamay, called it reminiscent of the Darius Painter. Hades in the company of Megara and her two sons killed by Heracles. He is seated, not standing, as appears from the paedagogue on the right who, leaning on his staff, is taller than Megara and her sons. The floral finial of Hades' staff was in white (mostly lost); there are pairs of white bands at regular intervals on the staff (usually these band are single, see e.g. *figs. 12, 15, 19*).

its thin neck and very hooked beak, more like a tiny vulture than a miniature eagle (Fig. 2b); surely it is not meant as a live animal but depicts an ivory finial.

In contrast with this, it should be pointed out that the marble bird on the sceptre of fig. 1 must be meant as a live eagle, and not as an ornamental bird-finial of a royal staff, such as that of fig. 2 and the numerous other birds we shall meet on South Italian vases below.

However, compared to the size of the hand, our marble eagle (19 cm long) looks proportionally small for a true eagle; if the hand had been life-size, the length of the bird would have been about 40 cm, which is far too short for an eagle, too short even for a buzzard.

When the eagle-staff was acquired, we naturally took it to be part of a seated Zeus (or Jupiter) in the similarity of Phidias' colossus in Olympia. Pausanias tells us that this statue held a sceptre with his left hand, on the top of which his eagle was perching.⁹ Reconstructions of the statue usually look like the drawing of fig. 3 (but the wings of the bird should, we believe, be spread as if flapping).¹⁰ Our fragment is strongly reminiscent of this part of the Zeus of Phidias (Figs. 1a-f). However, the hand is right at the top of the sceptre, grasping the lower part of the lotus-finial (much higher than the hand of the seated Zeus in fig. 3). Therefore, another possibility should be considered, viz. that the staff was held by a standing Zeus, like, for example, the small silver image in the Allard Pierson Museum of fig. 4.¹¹ To decide between these two possibilities - if possible - is the aim of this paper.

The scheme of the seated Zeus of fig. 3 was known from Archaic times through the centuries down to late Roman times.¹² But also the standing Zeus-Jupiter, with thunderbolt and sceptre, remained fashionable for centuries on end. It seems, however, that, as a rule, in both types the eagle was not depicted, carved or modelled in the precarious position on top of the sceptre: if present, it would usually sit somewhere next to the god, or even on his outstretched hand.¹³

At any rate, in stone statues a staff with eagle (if not added in bronze) would be carved separately and then attached (usually by means of struts); they would, of course, break off and get lost, but one expects to find examples among the numerous bronze statuettes, where the separately cast staff could easily survive. However, not a single more or less complete bronze statuette with the eagle perching on the sceptre has up till now been brought to my attention and even fragments of the eagle perching on top of the finial seem to be extremely rare: I know of only two examples, one from Olympia, the other from Dodona. A fine bronze eagle sitting quietly on the flower-finial

of a sceptre comes from Dodona (Fig. 5);¹⁴ it perches on the rounded centre of a flower that seems to represent a rose rather than the usual lotus-flower.¹⁵ Its wings are folded and it turns its head to its left. Again it looks like a live bird, not a decorative finial. The Zeus statue to which it belonged may, of course have been a standing figure, but the solidity of the bird may perhaps be thought better to fit an enthroned god. The bird from Olympia (Fig. 6, 17.3 cm high), and dated about 470-460, grips the round finial of a sceptre. It is a fine animal, sitting proudly upright, wings folded and not much smaller than our marble bird.¹⁶

The rarity of preserved eagle-finials in sculpture is surprising;¹⁷ this is also the case on coins and gems:¹⁸ perhaps the bird is too small a detail to be represented. But what is more surprising is that also in relief renderings the eagle on the staff is missing

⁹ Paus. V.11.1 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* no. 696); *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Zeus no. 89.

¹⁰ Reconstruction by A. Mallwitz (from J. Ebert, *Olympia, Mythos und Geschichte*, Vienna, 1980, 27, fig. 8). For the different reconstructions of Phidias' statue of Zeus see Vlizos p. 17-9, according to whom the one by Adler is the best. As for the wings of the bird, it is true that the other two specimens here discussed (figs. 5 and 6) also have their wings folded, but by far the most examples (see *comparanda*) have the wings spread.

¹¹ Inv. 7037; ex-collection von Bissing, from Egypt; H 8.6 cm; Museum photo.

¹² See Vlizos, p. 1 and *passim*.

¹³ Among the countless Roman bronze statuettes eagles are disappointingly rare. For example: in the catalogue of the Nijmegen collection (A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta e.a., *The Figural Bronzes - Museum Kam*, Nijmegen 1973) there are only two items with eagles and only one (no. 43), a tiny bird with a wreath in its beak, may conceivably have belonged to a Jupiter image. A miniature relief of a fine seated Jupiter (the lid of a box, no. 123) depicts the eagle in the air, above the right hand with the thunderbolt. Often Zeus-Jupiter holds the eagle on his outstretched right hand (*aetophoros*), e.g. a bronze statuette in Rhodes (standing) and Hellenistic coins (seated); see H. Walter, *Griechische Götter*, Munich 1971, figs 100 and 105; *LIMC* VIII, 2, s.v. Zeus, pls. 239 nos 473, 478 (coins); *in per. orientali*, pl. 244, 58; 246, 94; 252, 177, 198; pl. 267 f etc. Fine Jupiter statuettes, such as Mitten nos. 255 and 266, may never have had an eagle on the now lost staffs: the composition would, I think, become unbalanced by the presence of such a bird.

¹⁴ After *Ergon* 1967, p. 30, fig. 26, size and date unknown to me, but judging from the photograph it seems about the same size as our eagle and I am inclined to believe that it dates from the fifth to fourth century. The reference is given by Schauenburg, n. 30. There must be more examples but so far they have escaped me.

¹⁵ For rose-finials see below.

¹⁶ *100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia*, Munich 1972, p. 102 cat. no. 66.

¹⁷ See n. 13. One is, of course, also reminded of the ceremonial staff in gold with inlays topped with two little birds of prey in Cyprus (A. Pierides, *Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum*, Nicosia, 1971, pl. xii, 1-3), but this is of prehistoric date (Late Cypriote iii).

¹⁸ See the numerous coins depicted in *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Zeus, pls. 238 ff.

(Fig. 13), and curiously enough, this is the case on the Elian coins too, though they are believed to depict the Phidian statue rather precisely (Fig. 7).¹⁹ Because of its rarity our eagle (Figs. 1a-f) was a precious acquisition; in fact, it is so exceptional an item that it has, mistakenly, been regarded as a fake!

Live eagles and decorative finials

The eagle perching on the sceptre of Zeus seated on his throne was no doubt made popular by the Zeus of Phidias (Fig. 3), but the motif is, of course, much older. Early examples though rather rare, occur on vases and once or twice in other material (see compar. no. 4a-c below: e.g., a scaraboid dated about 470). On Attic vases it is clear that the bird is meant as a live animal that has just landed (cf. figs. 8-10 and compare the bird in fig. 11), often balancing itself with fluttering wings, as our eagle does.

On South Italian vases staffs topped with eagles are very common indeed,²⁰ not only in the hands of gods but often of mythical kings. There, however, these 'eagles' are smallish, like the painted one in the Allard Pierson Museum (Fig. 2a-b), often white, and clearly meant as a decorative finial made of silver or ivory (Figs. 12, 15, 16-20); a rare Attic example of such a decorative finial is fig. 16 (compar. no. 8 below). Sometimes these birds are supported by a small platform (e.g., compar. no. 12, fig. 20) but not rarely by a shape that is hard to identify.

Figurative finials adorning staffs seem to have been an Oriental fashion. Schauenburg²¹ refers to Herodotus (I 195) who tells us that in the East staffs without finials were exceptional and that common motifs for these finials were: apple, rose (cf. our fig. 5), lily (or what we usually call lotus) and eagle. This was very different in Greece. For ordinary Athenians at least, such pretentious staffs with finials would be unthinkable, and awkward besides, since the shoulder-high sticks (T-shaped or with a hook or curve at its top) were propped under the armpit to lean on while conversing.²²

The distinction between the formidable live eagle - the bird that was Zeus himself incarnate, often portrayed on the back of the left hand of Zeus when he is fighting the Giants²³ - and innocent-looking little bird-finials is clear, if only because of the size of the birds.

Much has been written about finials of staffs²⁴ and as decorative motifs, on Attic vases, we meet a prototype of pegasus, griffin heads, ram's heads, owls, curious Janus-shaped forms and the like.²⁵ All these have been discussed in detail elsewhere and therefore we may restrict ourselves to a small number of comparanda in our discussion of the original appearance of the statue to which our fragment once belonged.

Floral Finials

The finial on which our eagle is perching (Figs. 1a, b, e, f) is a rather complicated flower, very different from the more simple, ordinary decorative lotus-finials such as that on the staff of fig. 11 (compar. no. 5). Sometimes these flowers are more florid, the upper leaves curving outwards,²⁶ yet it seems to me that our finial, like the eagle, is meant to represent a natural, 'living' flower. Before it was damaged it consisted of three slender, pointed outer leaves surrounding three tall central leaves or petals that were bent outwards, perhaps - we are meant to believe - by the weight of the bird that landed inside the corona (Fig. 1e).

Such a finial formed by a live flower is perhaps unique but the curled ends of the upper leaves (without the rest of the flower) often occur under eagles: then it may be reduced to a mere couple of volutes, for example in the Attic examples of figs. 8 and 9 (compar. nos. 1 and 2). The nearest parallels to our live and somewhat rumpled flower are the neat, ornamental lotuses with curving upper petals such as that of fig. 19 (compar. no. 11 below). At any rate, the complexity of the flower-finial of fig. 1 is to be expected in, and befitting for, an image of Zeus.

¹⁹ After Vlizos pl. 1.2 (wrongly numbered there pl. 1.4); coin from Elis, Hadrianic, see Vlizos p. 10, n. 76; Vlizos regards this as the best picture of the statue. No eagle!

²⁰ See Schauenburg p. 212 and n. 37, 38, 39 and his list of examples in *Jdl* 73 (1958) 78, n. 108 (Hades and Zeus). Eagle-topped sceptres seem particularly popular with the Darius Painter and his workshop or followers.

²¹ Schauenburg, p. 211.

²² On Attic vases even august figures and great heroes such as Priamus may be equipped with this prosaic stick (well fitting his abject situation as a suppliant in Achilles' tent): SB V p. 232, fig. 208a, also old Lycomedes, *ibid.* p. 140, fig. 123a etc.

²³ See, e.g., Arafat, pls. 1 and 3 (of the same size as our eagle) and 5b (very large). This aggressive eagle forms a nice contrast with the peaceful bird drowsed by Apollo's music as described by Pindar in his Pythian Ode I (first strophe; translation R. Lattimore): 'Zeus' eagle sleeps on his staff, folding his quick wings..., lord of birds; you (Apollo) shed a mist on his hooked head ... gentle closure of his eyes; dreaming, he ripples his lithe back, bound in your spell ...' (reference by Schauenburg, p. 212).

²⁴ See Schauenburg, p. 211 ff and, for Roman staffs, see Salomonson 1 and 2 (there was the *scipio eburneus*, 'the eagle-headed sceptre.... a legitimate attribute of consular rank' - Salomonson 2, p. 11 -, *scipio cum aquila* - *ibid.* p. 14). For such Roman bird-finials with spread wings see Salomonson 2, figs. 11, 14, 15, 16.

²⁵ See for such finials H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter*, p. 66 n. 256. Schefold, SB II p. 20, points out that in scenes of the birth of Athena Zeus' staff is often crowned by remarkable finials.

²⁶ See Zeus' sceptres with floral finials *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Zeus, pls. 223-226 (thick flower with curls at top of petals); s.v. Tinia, pls. 260-261; pl. 264 no. 66 (*hand on finial*); Arafat, pls. 15, 20b, 23, 27 etc.

Seated or standing

The main problem posed by our fragment is, as we have seen, whether our statue was seated, like Zeus in *fig. 3*, or standing, like the little god of *fig. 4*. The only indications we have are the fact that the eagle clearly is meant to be a live bird (compare *figs. 8-11*), and, secondly, the somewhat remarkable position of the hand high up the sceptre, grasping the lotus finial, the index finger stretched along it.

That the bird is meant to be a natural bird of prey and not an ornamental finial proves, it seems to me, that the figure holding the staff was Zeus and not Hades or any other god or hero who on South Italian vases are so frequently seen to handle staffs with bird-finials. After all, the live eagle belonged to Zeus and to no other god. Incidentally, this indicates that the bird on the sceptre in the hand of Hades (on Italian vases, see *fig. 2*) is always meant as an artful decorative detail and not as a living eagle (and this is borne out by the smallness of the bird).

The high position of Zeus' hand on our eagle-sceptre (*Fig. 1*) can be found in our list of *comparanda*, both in seated figures and standing, but is rather rare. For a seated Zeus depicted with the eagle on top of the staff and hand on finial, I can only cite two gems and a small coin (*compar. nos. 4a-c, fig. 21*), which are not very clear, yet, I think, convincing. I take it that also the Jupiter-Zeus on a *dodekatheoi* relief in Alexandria (*Fig. 13*) held the staff near its top (however, here no eagle perched on it). Of other figures holding an eagle-staff in this manner, the index finger stretched along the calyx, I may mention king Skythes of *fig. 12* (*compar. no. 6*; contrast *compar. nos. 6b and c*).²⁷

As for standing figures with the hand raised high upwards holding the finial of the eagle-staff, see the Etruscan mirror with Tinia between Uni and Letun (*Fig. 17, compar. no. 9*); here the index finger is on the finial just as in *fig. 1*, but the bird is small, wings folded, a lifeless ornament. The sceptre is tall, rising to the top of Zeus' head. A second example is Xouthos of *compar. no. 10* (*Fig. 18*).

Thus we must conclude that the *comparanda* do not decide with certainty in favour of either a seated or a standing Zeus-Jupiter; yet there is reason to believe that the seated figure is more likely. We have noted above (n. 13) that certain statuettes of the standing Zeus might become ill-balanced if an eagle perched on top of their sceptre. This objection does not hold for the broad, solid statues of the enthroned god, especially if the throne itself is wide and high (*Fig. 13 and 14*).

Besides, there is a technical argument that, I think, clinches the matter, *viz.* the fastening of the strut under the eagle (*Fig. 1a, d*). As described above, the

strut springs from the tail of the bird and is well-preserved, oval in section and thickening downwards; clearly it was once fixed into a hole large enough to receive its widening end and there secured with wedge-shaped fillings (and mortar) around its widening part.

If Zeus was represented as standing, the connection between the eagle and the god would have been a strut attached to his shoulder: the strut would slant downwards and form a thick, very awkward bar²⁸ between bird and god; this is clear from the standing figures among our *comparanda* (*Figs. 4, 17, 18*). On the other hand, the strut may easily have been inserted into the top of the side post at the back of Zeus' throne, provided this throne had a sufficiently high and wide back, the upper horizontal bar crossing the vertical posts at the level of the crown of Zeus' head, such as is depicted on the relief in Alexandria (*compar. no. 17, fig. 13*) and in a terracotta image of Zeus in Rome (*compar. no. 18, fig. 14*). In these two a connection by means of a short strut between bird and side post seems quite effective. If the strut may seem rather short, it may have been met halfway by a strut springing from the statue and so fastened to it.²⁹

The Date

The total lack of sharp, linear, 'classicistic' modelling and shape-definition, the lack of the use of the running drill and the delicate details of the hand and bird, elaborately circumscribed and undercut by systematic drilling, may, I think, be taken to point to a late Hellenistic date rather than the Augustan period. But also if it is later, it is hardly necessary to give this enthroned god his Roman name, since the piece stems from Asia Minor.

Our statue must have represented Zeus solemnly seated on his throne, more or less reminiscent of the great statue of Phidias, from which, as Vlizos has shown, many schemata of the enthroned Zeus were derived.

²⁷ On Etruscan vases, where the eagle on top of the sceptre is rare, Zeus' hand, when he is seated, often touches the lotus finial, or covers it: *LIMC s.v. Zeus/Tinia* pls. 260-261, nos. 27, 29, 32, 38. On no. 36 there is a rather bigger eagle than usual on top of a short sceptre (wings spread).

²⁸ Very ugly struts are, of course, common, see e.g. Vlizos, pl. 18, 1, fixed to the poor god's head. But also the strut painfully stuck into the hip of the Hermes of Praxiteles seems to me an unrefutable argument that the figure is later than Praxiteles or, preferably, that the original statue was recarved in Roman times, as has often been argued.

²⁹ Cf. a Roman lamp of the third century AD: *LIMC VIII s.v. Zeus*, no. 311, pl. 232.

ADDENDUM

A few more words may be said about the occurrence, use and shape of staffs and sceptres topped with live or decorative eagles. For there is great variety in the length of the eagle-topped sceptre for seated and standing figures and the position of the left hand holding it.

In *fig. 3* the staff seems rather short; if we imagine Zeus to get up from his seat it would reach to about his armpit. However, in sculpture, the length of a staff is made to harmonize with the composition of the seated or standing figure, and therefore that of *fig. 3* may look short only in our naively 'realistic' eyes³⁰ (compare, e.g., *Fig. 7*).

As a rule, ordinary staffs (without special finials) are, roughly speaking, of two sizes: some are, in vase paintings noticeably taller than the standing man holding it (= 'long'), others are shoulder-high, that is of the same length as the sticks Athenian men propped under their arm-pits to lean on (= 'short').³¹ Zeus' left upper arm, when seated, may be relaxed and his hand at the level of his shoulder or somewhat lower (see *Figs. 3, 7-10*) but far more frequently the upper arm is horizontal and the hand at the level of the crown of his head or higher (*Figs. 11-13*).³² This variation is also found on the different coins from Elis that are regarded as more or less faithful renderings of the statue of Phidias.³³ On vases the left arm may also hang down, his hand loosely holding the slanting staff at a low point (*Figs. 2 and 15, compar. no. 7*).

This variation in the position of the hand is, of course, also found in standing figures. It may vary from 'very low' (*compar. no. 11, Fig. 19*) to 'low' (*Figs. 16, 20*), and as we have seen, to 'high'. Both standing and seated figures sometimes hold the staff near its top (e.g. *compar. Fig. 13*), touching (or nearly so) the spring of the lotus finial³⁴ but the index finger rarely stretches along the calyx, as we see it in *figs. 1, 12, 17, 18*.

How the staff may be handled by walking and running heroes and comedians may be seen in three examples: *compar. 14-16*.

COMPARANDA

A. Live Eagles (except perhaps 4a-b)

Live eagles precariously perching with great wings on the top of Zeus' sceptre. Zeus seated.

1. *Fig. 8* (after CVA)

Nikoxenos Painter, amphora Munich 2304, ARV² 220.1 (Para 346; Addenda 98), CVA Munich 4 pl. 178-81, 188.8; Arafat, p. 90-1, cat. 4.1.

Large eagle on double-volute-finial, turned to Zeus, looking round and upwards, wings spread. Zeus' hand 'low'; staff 'short'.

2. *Fig. 9* (after von Bothmer).

Eucharides Painter, calyx krater, coll. White-Levy, New York; D. von Bothmer (ed.), *Glories of the Past*, 1990, no. 117, p. 156.

Very large eagle on tiny double-volute-finial, facing Zeus, wings folded. Zeus' hand 'low' (two fingers daintily stretched), staff slightly slanting, 'short' (to make room for the big bird).

3. *Fig. 10* (after Arafat).

Geras Painter, Louvre G224; ARV² 285.1 (Addenda 104); Arafat, cat. 4.34, pl. 30b.

Large eagle on knob-finial (like *fig. 6*), facing Zeus, looking round, wings spread. Zeus' hand 'low'.

4a. *Fig. 21*. Tiny gem in the Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica; Vlizos, pl. 13.3.

Zeus on throne, staff short, upper left arm horizontal, hand on finial just under bird, wings spread (bird very small and difficult to distinguish). This is a curious picture: a big eagle sits at Zeus' left foot, another animal at his right foot, two Nikai/Victories float above him holding a wreath over his head; a tiny eagle seems to perch on his staff.

4b. Chalcedony scaraboid, Getty Museum; about 470. *LIMC* VIII 1 s.v. Zeus p. 358, no. 361, pl. 234 (inscr. Charon).

Zeus seated, *hand on finial, looking up at bird*; eagle unclear but wings spread.

4c. Small coin (litra) from Sicily; *LIMC* VIII,1 Zeus p. 365, no. 474, pl. 239.

³⁰ Nobody objects to the smallness of some of the horses on the Parthenon frieze; it is even hard to notice this disproportion in the elderly 'horse-binder' checking his horse in the centre of the West frieze (slab viii 15): though the horse is rearing violently and the man, keeping it in check, is leaning far backward the heads are nearly level. Sometimes, however, disproportions were regarded as annoying even in Antiquity: Strabo (viii 3, 30) objects to the gigantic size of Phidias' Zeus, whose head would bang the ceiling of the cella if he would try to get up from his throne; see *fig. 3* and Vlizos p. 19.

³¹ On vases, where there is more space, the sceptre is often very tall in the hand of the sitting god: SB IV p. 222, *fig. 273*; Arafat pls. 7b, 13b, 32a, 33a etc. It may also be taller than the standing god: Arafat pl. 15b.

³² Vlizos pls. 4, 5, 10-14 etc.

³³ See the plates of Vlizos, esp. pl. 1. 1-6. On reliefs the sceptre itself may be very long, e.g. Vlizos pl. 13. 2.

³⁴ Hand high on ordinary staffs: I give two arbitrarily chosen examples. Demeter on the Eleusis relief with the departure of Triptolemos (SB III, p. 61, *fig. 75*) and Hera on a krater by the Talos Painter (SB IV, p. 225, *fig. 278*). Cf. Jupiter on a sardonix cameo, Cab. Méd.; *LIMC* VIII Zeus-Jupiter no. 75 p. 273, standing, hand near lotus finial; staff tall, but no eagle.

Zeus Soter seated, very big bird on short staff (in right hand).

5. *A live 'falcon' fig. 11* (after CVA).

Lekythos Boston 25.078;³⁵ CVA Rhodes, Island School of Design pl. 19.1.

Large funny-looking bird (falcon?) on the back of Hera's throne, frontal, head turned away from goddess, wings spread widely.

B. Ornamental bird-finials (small, often tiny, usually white)

Bird-staffs are very common on South Italian vases; examples quoted here are but a rough choice

B1 seated

6. *Fig. 12* (after SB IV).

Darius Painter; Basel, coll Ludwig S 34; SB IV p. 219 fig. 269.

King Skythes on ornate throne; hand high on staff, index finger on finial, wings spread.

6b. Comparable: Darius Painter; krater Berlin (Phrixos being saved); SB V p. 16 fig. 1.

Zeus seated, right hand on staff 'low'; eagle turned away from Zeus, wings spread.

6c. Comparable: Gravina Painter; volute-krater; RVAp I 32 no. 2/1 pl. 8.2; Trendall, fig. 47; SB V p. 25 fig. 11.

Heroine sitting hand in hand with reclining youth (Hypsipyle and Iason, according to K. Schefold); hand high but staff very tall (or lifted?) and finial far above hand; eagle in three-quarter (?), wings spread, on platform.

7. *Fig. 15* (after Lindner).

Underworld Painter; large lekythos; market (?); Lindner p. 27 no. 18, pls. 8-9; RVAp Suppl. 18, 281a, pl. 17.

Zeus seated, arm down, loosely holding staff; staff slanting and 'short', bird turned towards Zeus, wings spread, on lotus flower (white bands on staff).

7b. Comparable: Iliupersis Painter; krater in Ruvo; Sichtermann K36 pl. 52; RVAp 397.14; Carpenter, fig. 128.

Hades seated (punishment of Theseus and Peirithoos); staff in right hand.

7c. Comparable. Underworld Painter; krater Munich 3297; SB III fig. 200; RVAp II 533, no. 18/282; Trendall, fig. 209.

Hades or Pluto on elaborate throne, staff tall; wings spread (white bands on staff).

7d. Amykos Painter; Ruvo, Jatta 1095; Sichtermann K40, pl. 62; LCS pl. 19.

Phineus seated; staff very short, in right hand; tiny bird in profile, turned towards Phineus, one wing visible (raised).

B2 standing

8. *Fig. 16* (after Festschrift Schauenburg).

Telephos Painter (R. Guy); Festschrift Schauenburg p. 87 ff, pl. 16.1.

Priestess of Triptolemos; tall staff, hand low, tiny bird on double volute, wings folded (rare Attic example of decorative bird).

9. *Fig. 17* (after ÖJh).

Etruscan mirror; Vienna; LIMC VIII s.v. Tinia no. 4; R. Noll, ÖJh 27 (1932) 153 ff, Beilage.

Zeus/Tinia standing between Uni and Letun; sceptre tall, hand high, index finger on finial; bird small, wings folded.

10. *Fig. 18* (after RVAp).

LIMC VIII, 2 pl. 216, Xouthos no. 3; RVAp suppl. 2/1, 149, 59c pl. 37.1.

Xouthos standing next to his wife Kreousa; right hand high touching floral finial. Bird small, turned away from Xouthos, one wing shown, raised as if in flight.

11. *Fig. 19* (after Trendall).

Lycurgus Painter; Karlsruhe B4; RVAp I 431 no. 16/81 pl. 160-1; Trendall p. 81, fig. 151.

Pluto standing near Persephone; arm down, loosely holding slanting staff. Eagle in three-quarter view; wings spread, on fully blown lotus flower with curved petals (white bands round staff).

11b. Comparable: Darius Painter; Athamas on krater mentioned *sub* 6b; bird nearly frontal, wings spread.

11c. Comparable: Darius Painter; krater in Boston, SB V fig. 258 bis.

Adrastos; fine bird in profile, with two wings stretched high upwards (fine indication of feathers) on fully blown lotus-finial.

11d. Comparable: Underworld Painter, krater private coll. Geneva; SB IV p. 47, fig. 36a; Trendall fig. 210.

Aiolos in the story of Melanippe; very tall staff, small bird in profile. wings lifted.

11e. Comparable: Boston 00.349; RVAp 24.104; Carpenter p. 116 fig. 166.

³⁵ In ARV¹ attributed to the Brygos Painter but not mentioned in ARV².

Proitos handing the letter to Bellerophon. Staff lifted from the ground, vertical; eagle high above Proitos, facing forward; unusually large, as if alive (rather looking like a large dove); wings spread, on platform.

12. *Fig. 20* (after Schauenburg).

Sisyphus Painter. Private coll.; Schauenburg pl. 57.1. Goddess, probably standing, holding staff with rather large, well-painted bird with long neck, wings spread, on platform (volutes underneath).

13. Imitator of Lycurgus Painter. Ruvo J423; Sichtermann no. 71, pl. 115; SB V p. 85, fig. 67. Kreon, assisting the punishment of Antigone; age-bent, leaning on his staff, hand high, just under its finial; bird turned away from Kreon in profile, wings lifted, lotus-shaped finial.

B3 walking or running

14. Phlyax krater, Cotugno Painter (Trendall); coll. Fleischman; K.W. Arafat, *A Passion for Antiquities* (1994) no. 58, p. 132.

Comedian playing Zeus, running with bird-topped staff in lowered left hand; wings spread, tiny platform or block as perch.

15. Near Varese Painter, Boston 03.804; SB V p. 246 fig. 222.

Agamemnon intervening (at the killing of Thersites); right hand down, holding slanting sceptre; eagle with wings spread.

16. Workshop Iliupersis Painter, Bari 3648; RVAp 210 no. 144; SB IV fig. 39a.

King Merops (attacking Stornyx), running, sword in right hand, sceptre slanting over shoulder; tiny bird, wings spread.

B4 wide throne, high back

17. *Fig. 13* (after Vlizos).

Dodekatheoi relief; altar Alexandria inv.27004; Vlizos p. 51 with n. 361, pl. 13.1.

Zeus on throne, hand high (*no eagle on staff*); back of throne very high and broad.

18. *Fig. 14* (after Vlizos).

Villa Giulia, Hellenistic terracotta; Vlizos pl. 1.7, p. 16; *LIMC* VIII s.v. Zeus/Tinia pl. 267, no. 113.

Zeus on very broad throne with high back, left arm missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Arafat, K.W. 1990, *Classical Zeus, a Study in Art and Literature*, Oxford.

Carpenter, Th. H. 1991, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece, a Handbook*, London.

Festschrift Schauenburg = *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei; Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg*. Editors E. Böhr und W. Martini, Mainz, 1986.

L.C.S. = A.D. Trendall, 1967, *The red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford.

Lindner, R. 1984, *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst*, Würzburg.

Mitten, D.G. and S.F. Doeringer, 1968, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Exhibition Catalogue, Fogg Art Museum), Mainz.

RVAp = A.D. Trendall - A. Cambitoglou, 1978-1982, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*, London.

Salomonson 1 = J.W. Salomonson, 1955, *Chair, sceptre and wreath* (diss).

Salomonson 2 = J.W. Salomonson, 1955, in *BABesch* 30, 1 ff.

SB II = K. Schefold, 1978, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst*, Munich.

SB III = K. Schefold, 1981, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich.

SB IV = K. Schefold, 1986, *Die Urkönige Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich.

SB V = K. Schefold, 1989, *Die Sagen von den Argonauten, von Theben und Troia in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich.

Sc. APM = Eric M. Moormann, 2000, *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam.

Schauenburg, K. Die Göttin mit dem Vogelszepter, *RM* 82, 1975, 207-16

Sichtermann, H. 1966, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien*, Tübingen.

Trendall, A.D. 1989, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London.

Vlizos, S. 1999, *Der thronende Zeus. Eine Untersuchung zur statuarischen Ikonographie des Gottes in der spätklassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich.

ZOMERDIJK 16

7946 LZ WANNEPERVEEN



Fig. 1a.

Fig. 1a-f. APM inv. 8868.



Fig. 1b.



Fig. 1c.



Fig. 1d.



Fig. 1e.



Fig. 1f.



Fig. 2. Hades; Allard Pierson Museum inv. 2586; photo José v.d. Berg.

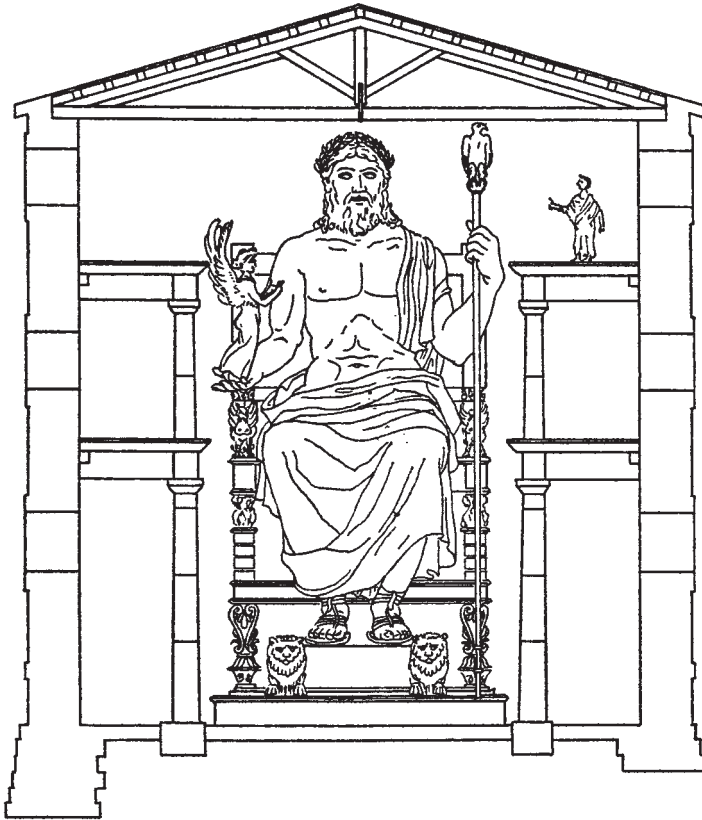


Fig. 3. Zeus of Phidias, reconstr. A. Mallwitz.
After Ebert, *Olympia, Mythos...* p. 27, fig. 8.



Fig. 4. APM inv. 7037; photo Museum.



Fig. 5. Bronze eagle from Dodona.
After Ergon 1967, 30, fig. 26.



Fig. 6. Bronze eagle from Olympia.
After '100 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen', cat. no. 66.



Fig. 7. Bronze coin from Elis (Florence); Hadrianic.
After Vlizos pl. 1.2.



Fig. 8. Zeus and Hera.
After CVA Munich 4 pl. 178 (compar. 1).

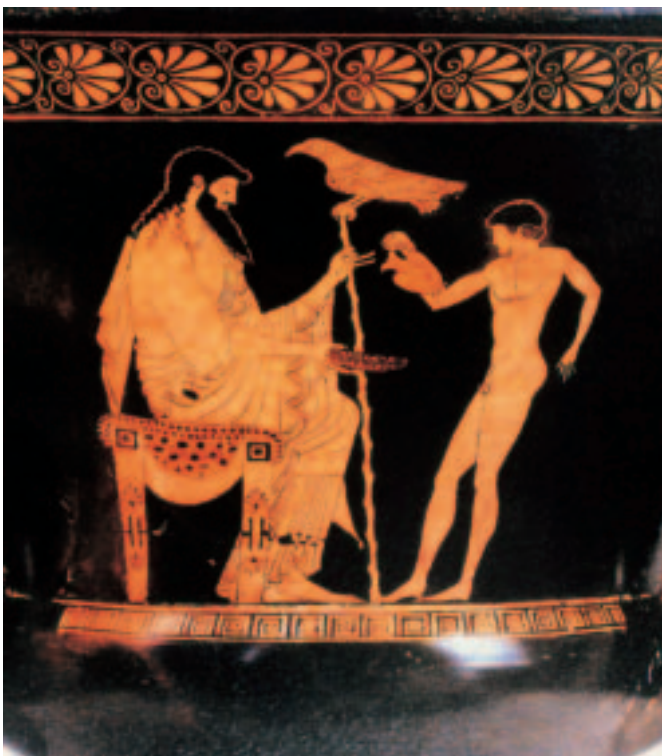


Fig. 9. Zeus and Ganymed. Coll. White-Levy, New York.
After Bothmer, *Glories* (compar. 2).



Fig. 10. Zeus; Louvre G224.
After Arafat pl. 30 (compar. 3).



Fig. 11. Hera; Boston 25.078.
After CVA Rhodes, School of Design (compar. 5).



Fig. 12. King Skythes; Basel, Coll. Ludwig S34.
After SB IV fig. 269 (compar. 6).



Fig. 13. Zeus; altar with the Olympian Gods. Alexandria.
After Vlizos (compar. 17).



Fig. 14. Zeus, Hellenistic terracotta, Villa Giulia Museum.
After Vlizos pl. 1.7.



Fig. 15. Zeus, lekythos, market (?). After Lindner pl. 9. (compar. 7).



*Fig. 16. Priestess of Triptolemos (?).
After Festschrift Schauenburg pl. 16.1 (compar. 8).*



Fig. 17. Etruscan mirror, Vienna; Tinia between Uni and Letun. After ÖJh (compar. 9).



Fig. 18. Xouthos, Ruvo J423.
After Sichtermann pl. 115 (compar. 10).



Fig. 19. Pluto, Karlsruhe B4.
After Trendall, Handb. fig. 151 (compar. 11).



Fig. 20. Goddess, private coll.
After Schauenburg, pl. 57.1 (compar. 12).



Fig. 21. Zeus, gem Vatican.
After Vlizos pl. 13.3 (compar. 4a).

The Bronze Statuette of a Mouse from Kedesh and its Significance

Sonia Mucznik and Asher Ovadiah

A statuette of a mouse in moulded bronze¹ was found in the temple at Kedesh,² Upper Galilee, in the course of the first season of the archaeological excavations.³

The mouse appears with its forepaws stretched forwards, its weight on the hind paws; its raised head, wide-open eyes, pricked ears, and slightly open mouth suggest that all its senses are alert and that it is ready for action. Its long tail is rolled up over its right hind thigh. The fur on its body and head is represented by regular small incised marks, but the tail is smooth and rounded; the underside of the paws are flat (*Figs. 1-5*). Although it was not found *in situ*, the statuette was discovered within the temple area, and thus belongs to the same period of the temple (2nd-4th centuries CE). The 'mouse-god' (*Smintheus* - Σμινθεύς) is a title that was given to Apollo,⁴ as the god who had saved a local community from a plague of field mice.⁵ On the other hand, it was by his own curse that the god had sent the mice into the fields to destroy the crops (ἐν Χρύσει, πόλει τῆς Μυσίας, Κρῖνις τις ἱερεὺς ἦν τοῦ κείθι Ἀπόλλωνος. τούτῳ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγροῖς μύας, οἵτινες τοὺς καρποὺς ἐλυμαίνοντο).⁶ In the place where the event had occurred, the priest built a temple dedicated to the god *Smintheus* as, according to the local dialect, mice are called *sminthi* (οὗ γενομένου ὁ Κρῖνις ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο τῷ θεῷ, Σμινθέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐγχώριον αὐτῶν διάλεκτον οἱ μύες σμίνθοι καλοῦνται).⁷

A similar event occurred in the Old Testament in connection with the Ark of the God of Israel: ... *five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Phillistines: for one plague was on you all, and on your lords... and images of your mice that mar the land...*⁸ This coincidence between the Biblical and the Greek worlds is noteworthy and quite amazing, closing a cultural cycle. The Philistines, who belonged to one of the Sea Peoples, had reached the eastern Mediterranean, either from the Aegean islands or from Crete. Upon their arrival in the region they brought with them cultural elements of the pre-Hellenic tradition, probably including the mice of Apollo *Smintheus*. It should be pointed out that the offering they bestowed, according to the Bible, to the God of Israel: *five golden emerods and five golden mice*, suggests their cultural connections with the pre-Hellenic world in general, and the region of Troas in particular. The interesting point is the similar functions of the mice mentioned in the Bible and those of Apollo *Smintheus* referred to in the Greek literary sources.

Literary sources, archaeological evidence and numismatic data associate the mouse or rat with Apollo, as his attribute, and testify to the cult of Apollo *Smintheus* having been practised in Troas, in Asia Minor. It seems that the mouse was a mantic symbol and connected with the founding of the Trojan state of Chryse (later known as Hamaxitos),⁹ where the Temple of Apollo *Smintheus* was erected, and



Fig. 1.

¹ The measurements are: L - 6.9 cm; H - 3 cm; w - 2.4 cm; weight - 120 grs.

² The statuette was found on the 6th of August 1981 in area A, square I-14.

³ See Ovadiah *et al.* 1984, 146-172; Ovadiah *et al.* 1985, 353-360; Ovadiah *et al.* 1987, 168-173; Ovadiah *et al.* 1993, 60-63; Ovadiah *et al.* 1993a, 209-230.

⁴ *Sminthos* (Σμίνθος) means mouse; see *Scholia Graeca*, 1969, A39 (p. 20): Σμινθεῦ: ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος Σμίνθος γὰρ...; *LIMC* II.1, 231.

⁵ See Roscher IV, 1965, s.v. 'Smintheus', cols. 1083-1087; s.v. 'Skamandros', col. 984; Roscher I.1, 1965, s.v. 'Apollon', cols. 462-463. For *Smintheus*, see also Cook II.1, 1925, 250 (n.2), 255; *DAGR* I.1, 1962, 317. For festivals named 'Sminthia' (Σμίνθια), celebrated in honour of the god *Smintheus*, see *DAGR* IV. 2, 1963, 1365.

⁶ Hill 1916, 136; Farnell IV, 1971, 448.

⁷ Hill 1916, 136-137; Farnell IV, 1971, 448.

⁸ I *Sam.* 6: 4-5. Our thanks are due to Mr. Matti Fischer, who drew our attention to this matter.

⁹ *LIMC* II.1, 231-232.



Fig. 2.

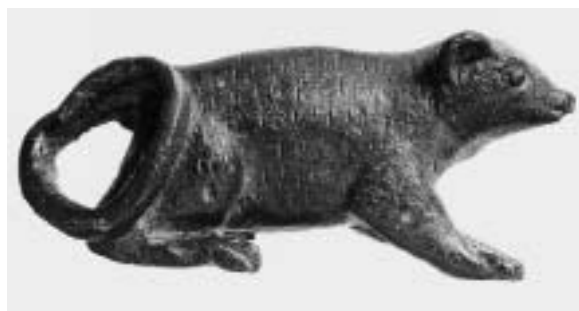


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

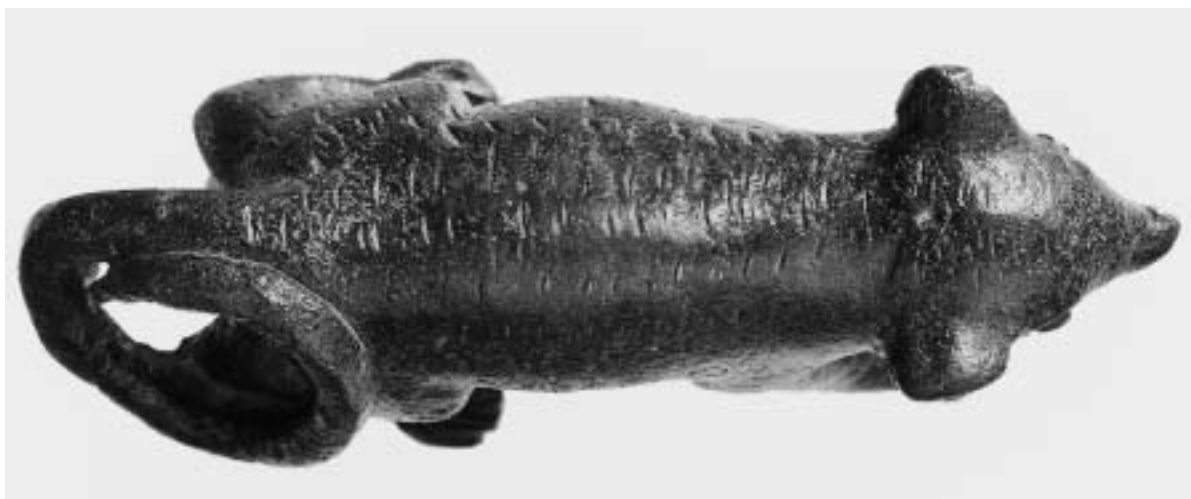


Fig. 5.

Figs. 1-5. The bronze mouse from Kedesh (photos: authors).



Fig. 6. The bronze mouse in the Munich Prähistorische Staatssammlung (after 200 Jahre Philipp von Zabern).

its remains were found and are still visible.¹⁰ Apparently, the mouse was a sacred animal in the *Smintheion*, associated with Apollo, and part of the cult of Apollo *Smintheus*.¹¹

In the *Iliad* I.37 and 39, the city of Chryse¹² and the god *Smintheus*,¹³ identified with Apollo, to whom a temple was erected, are mentioned: Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,...(*Smintheus*, if ever it pleased your heart that I built your temple, ...).¹⁴ The statue of Apollo *Smintheus* by Scopas of Paros was, according to Strabo, to be found in the temple at Chryse, in Troas, and the mouse was placed at the foot of the statue: ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσει ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σῶζον, ὃ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου. Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου· συνοικειοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν εἴτε μῦθον τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν μυῶν (*In this Chrysa is also the temple of Sminthian Apollo, and the symbol which preserves the etymology of the name (Sminthian means 'Mouse-god') I mean the mouse, lies beneath the foot of the cult image (xoanon). These are the works of Scopas of Paros; and also the history, or myth, about the mice is associated with this place*).¹⁵

Eustathius, Bishop of Thessalonike, in the 12th century CE, mentions a temple of *Smintheus* at Chryse, and a mouse lying at the foot of the cult image (*xoanon*), the work of Scopas from Paros: φησὶ γάρ

ἡ ἱστορία, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Χρύσει Σμινθέως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ μῦς ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου, Σκόπα ἔργον τοῦ Παρίου, ...¹⁶

A mouse or rat placed at the foot of the cult statue, as the attribute of Apollo *Smintheus*, figures on one of the coins of Alexandria Troas.¹⁷ Some scholars consider that Scopas made both the cult image (Apollo's statue) as well as the mouse, and that this statuary group was reproduced on coins of Chryse. Others argue that only the mouse was by Scopas and that it was added to an older image.¹⁸

A similar bronze statuette of a mouse, now in the Munich Prähistorische Staatssammlung, dated to the

¹⁰ The temple of Apollo *Smintheus* at Chryse (Hamaxitos) in Troas has been dated to the end of the third century or 200 BCE; see Weber 1966, 100-114; Akurgal 1978, 29.

¹¹ Farnell IV, 1971, 448-449.

¹² On the city of Chryse, see *Scholia Graeca*, 1969, A37d (pp. 19-20); Eustathius, 54-56, 60; see also Farnell IV, 1971, 448.

¹³ See above, n. 4.

¹⁴ *Iliad* I. 37,39, trans. R. Lattimore, 1951, Chicago and London.

¹⁵ Strabo, 13.1.48 (VI, pp.92-95) (cf. also Strabo, 13.1.63 (VI, pp. 22-125), 13.1.64 (VI, pp.126-127); Pollitt 1990, 97. Some scholars tend to identify on stylistic grounds the statue by Scopas on the coins of Alexandria Troas (Wroth 1964, xvii, Pls.IV.8, V.15, VI.2,5), while others reject this identification because of the absence of the mouse, and the inclusion of the raven (Richter 1970, Fig. 695).

¹⁶ Eustathius, 56.

¹⁷ Grace 1932, Fig. 4 on 229; *LIMC* II.2: 378b.

¹⁸ Richter 1970, 211.



Fig. 7.

second half of the first century CE, was found in the Roman fortress of Oberstimm (Landkreis Pfaffenhofen) (Fig. 6).¹⁹ The only difference is that the one in Munich is holding a fruit between its front paws.²⁰ The form of this mouse may evoke a connection with Apollo *Smintheus* in Germany during the Roman period, appearing beyond the limits of Troas, although it may also merely have served as the handle of a decorative dish, pot or other vessel.

Three reliefs carved on a coffer and two modillions of one of the cornices of the portico entablature of the temple at Kedesh include a basin on a tripod, a cithara, and a crescent with a star. These sculptural elements are almost impossible to see and identify, due to their location, high above eye level (about 8m), and the small size of the reliefs (approximately 10x15 cm). Although the tripod and the cithara are known attributes of Apollo, it is rather problematic to consider these reliefs as cult symbols of the god. Therefore, they too may be considered as decorative elements.²¹

The crescent with a star carved in the coffer of the portico entablature, next to the modillions carved with the tripod and the cithara, may refer to a syncretistic concept. Thus, it appears that another deity could have been venerated together with Apollo, in the Temple of Baalshamin at Kedesh, namely Artemis-Selene or Aphrodite-Selene.²² Indeed, Macrobius (5th century CE) wrote that Jupiter/J Zeus embodied the other gods in himself:

*Nec ipse Jupiter, rex deorum, naturam solis videtur excedere, sed eundem esse Jovem ac solem claris docetur indiciiis.*²³

Despite the mythological relationship of Apollo to Zeus/Jupiter, as son to father, it is difficult to accept that Apollo was venerated in Kedesh on an equal

basis with Baalshamin, the great deity of the Syro-Phoenician region, and the supreme divinity of the Temple at Kedesh. If, in any case, the statuette of the mouse indicates the worship of Apollo *Smintheus* at Kedesh, this would be an exceptional phenomenon, beyond the limits of Troas in Asia Minor, making it the only existing example in the Syro-Phoenician region.

There are in fact several other examples in the Greek world in which in the temple of the main divinity

¹⁹ Its length is 5.2 cm; it was published in a calendar of '200 Jahre Philipp von Zabern', Mainz-am-Rhein, 1985.

²⁰ Similar statuettes of bronze mice are displayed in the Archaeological Museum at Çanakkale, Turkey, which were inspected by us in the course of two visits (June 1990 and July 2001), but surprisingly we have been told by Mr. Reyham Körpe of the same Museum (telephone conversation - end of August 2001) that these are 20th century replicas (of a lost original?) made in Europe. This determination, according to Mr. Körpe, is based on a seal and traces of colour under the body of the mice. We are grateful to Mr. Reyham Körpe for this useful information (Figs. 7-8).

Other statuettes of bronze mice have been found in various parts of the Roman world, and are displayed in several museums, such as those in the Rheinisches Landmuseum Bonn, the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum at Mainz, see Menzel III, 1986, Nos. 134, 137-139. A bronze mouse found in Yemen is displayed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien (Inv. Nr. Sem 135), see Seipel 1998, 370-371 (Kat. Nr. 418). In ancient civilizations the mouse was believed to possess magic qualities, as well as having a mantic role, see Keller 1909, 195-198; see also *Der Kleine Pauly*, 3, 1969, s.v. 'Maus', cols. 1098-1100; Barker 1990, 153-168.

We are grateful to Professor Gustavo Traversari, Ca' Foscari University, Venice, for his valuable bibliographic advice.

²¹ Ovadia *et al.* 1986-1987, 64.

²² See *LIMC* II.1, 817 (no.120), 824 (no.208), 844 (for Artemis/Diana - Luna); *LIMC* V.1, 793 (for Isis-Aphrodite); *LIMC* VIII. 1, 228 (for Venus-Isis).

²³ Macrobius, *Sat.* I. XXIII, 1-9.

other gods also appear in the sculptural decoration. For example, in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, where Apollo figures in the West pediment,²⁴ and in the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis, the temple of Athena Pallas, where the Olympian gods are depicted on the two pediments and on the inner frieze.²⁵

The small size of the statuette of the mouse from Kedesh and its flat paws, as mentioned above, could suggest that this statuette may have been a decorative part of an object, such as the top of the lid of a vessel, or a handle. On the other hand, as it is represented on a coin of Alexandria Troas, and based on the descriptions of the literary sources (see above), the mouse at Kedesh could have served as an attribute of a statue or statuette of Apollo, thus embodying the concept of Apollo *Smintheus* in the Syro-Phoenician region. If, however, its role was that of a decorative item, this would be insufficient for consideration of the mouse as having played a role in the cult of Apollo. If ever such a cult had been practised in the temple at Kedesh, it must have occurred as a secondary cult and only under the auspices of the main deity, Baalshamin, to whom the temple was dedicated.²⁶ Baalshamin as the god of the sky, or heaven, embraced cosmic powers, dominating celestial and earthly elements.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Akurgal, E. 1978, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, Istanbul.
 Barker, G. 1990, *Gli animali nel mondo romano - Civiltà dei Romani*, Milano.
 Boardman, J. 1985, *Greek Sculpture, the Classical Period*, London.
 Cook, A.B. 1925, *Zeus*, II.1, Cambridge.
 DAGR I.1, 1962, Ch. Daremberg-E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, I.1, Graz, s.v. 'Apollo'.
 DAGR IV.2, 1963, Ch. Daremberg-E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, IV.2, Graz, s.v. 'Sminthia'.
Der Kleine Pauly, 3, 1969, Stuttgart.
 Eustathius, Van der Valk, M. (ed.) 1971, *Eustathii, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes*, I, Leiden.
 Farnell, L.R. 1971, *The Cults of the Greek States*, IV, Chicago.
 Grace, V.R. 1932, Scopas in Chryse, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 52, 228-232.

²⁴ Richter 1970, 98, Figs. L., 417-418; Boardman 1985, Figs. 18-19.

²⁵ Richter 1970, 98, Figs. 421-423; Boardman 1985, Figs. 77-78.

²⁶ Ovadiah *et al.* 1984, 166-168.



Figs. 7-8. Bronze mice in the Archaeological Museum at Çanakkale, Turkey (photos: authors).

- Hill, G.F. 1916, Apollo and St. Michael: Some Analogies, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 36, 134-162.
- Iliad*, Homer, *Iliad*, trans. R. Lattimore, 1951, Chicago and London.
- Keller, O. 1909, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig.
- LIMC, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, II.1, 1984, Zürich and München.
- LIMC, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, V.1, 1990, Zürich and München.
- LIMC, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VIII.1, 1997, Zürich and Düsseldorf.
- Macrobius, *Sat.*, Macrobius, *Conviviorum Saturnaliorum*, trans. H. Bornecque, 1937, Paris.
- Menzel, H. 1986, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland-Bonn*, III, Mainz am Rhein.
- Ovadia, A. et al. 1984, The Roman Temple at Kedesh, Upper Galilee: A Preliminary Study, *Tel Aviv* 11, 146-172.
- Ovadia, A. et al. 1985, The Architectural Design of the Roman Temple at Kedesh, Upper Galilee, *Eretz Israel*, 18, 353-360 (Hebrew).
- Ovadia, A. et al. 1986-1987, The Epigraphic Finds from the Roman Temple at Kedesh in Upper Galilee, *Tel Aviv* 13-14, 60-66.
- Ovadia, A. et al. 1987, Deities and Ritual in the Roman Temple at Kades, *Zev Vilnay's Jubilee Volume*, 2, Jerusalem, 168-173 (Hebrew).
- Ovadia, A. et al. 1993, The Roman Temple at Kedesh in Upper Galilee: A Response, *Israel Exploration Journal* 43, 60-63.
- Ovadia, A. et al. 1993a, The Architectural Decoration of the Roman Temple at Kedesh, Upper Galilee, in: M. Heltzer, A. Segal, D. Kaufman (eds.), *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Israel, in Honour of Moshe Dothan*, Haifa, 209-230 (Hebrew).
- Pollitt, J.J. 1990, *The Art of Ancient Greece, Sources and Documents*, Cambridge.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1970, *The Sculpture and the Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven and London.
- Roscher, W.H., I.1, 1965, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Hildesheim, s.v. 'Apollon'.
- Roscher, W.H., IV, 1965, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Hildesheim, s.v. 'Smintheus', 'Skamandros'.
- Scholia Graeca*, Herbse, H. (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, I, 1969, Berlin.
- Seipel, W. (ed.) 1998, *Jemen, Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, Wien.
- Strabo, *The Geography*, trans. H.L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, VI, 1970, Cambridge (Mass.) and London.
- Weber, H. 1966, Zum Apollon Smintheus-Tempel in der Troas, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 16, 100-114.
- Wroth, W. 1964, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*, Bologna.

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
TEL AVIV 69978
ISRAEL

Vitruvius and the conveyance of water

H. Paul M. Kessener

Vitruvius's treatise on water supply and aqueducts (*De Architectura Libri Decem*, Book VIII, chapter 6) has often been criticized as not being reliable, especially on the subject of inverted siphons.¹ Numerous comments, by various authors, agree on this point. N.A.F. Smith considered the possibility 'that the extant versions of Vitruvius's manuscript are not, in fact, a faithful rendition of the original' ... 'On the other hand, even if they are faithful renderings, it is possible that Vitruvius did not fully understand his material himself. And if Vitruvius did not know what he was talking about then it is hardly surprising that we cannot find out ... Conceivably, he is rather inferior and presents a less than full or typical picture of contemporary practice.'² A. Trevor Hodge: 'his siphon account ... reads very much like a poor undergraduate essay, hastily thrown together in the library ... which does not show any real understanding on the part of the author.'³ More recently, less relentless 'Unfortunately, Vitruvius is far from clear on the question, which he may not himself have fully understood.'⁴ According to M. Lewis Vitruvius' Book VIII '... is bitty and discursive, and the sections which concern us, on aqueducts, hardly convey the impression of a writer who is master of his subject'; it is '... a sloppy compilation of borrowings, largely from Greek writers ...', which '... shows little originality, clear-mindedness or intelligence on Vitruvius' part.'⁵ In this article Vitruvius' chapter on aqueducts and siphons will be discussed again, in view of the physics of gravity driven conveyance systems, leading to a different view.

INVERTED SIPHONS

During the Pax Romana period prosperity increased enormously in the Roman Empire. Almost every city, small or large, acquired an aqueduct or added to existing ones, to meet the growing demand related to luxury and bathing habits as well as increased population. Gaul alone counted over 300 aqueducts.⁶ The supply of running water became a standard feature, financed by the emperor or by private funding, the benefactor often mentioned in an inscription. The aqueduct frequently ended in a lustrously decorated nymphaeum or *castellum divisorium* as a demonstration of pride and respect for such technical achievement. Behind all this stood the often-anonymous Roman engineer, who had the task to bring good quality water to the city, sometimes at elevated location. To transport the water to the desired spot he had just one driving force at his disposition, gravity. This only available driving force to carry water in large quantities over great distances was also a very convenient one. As long as the water could flow downhill from source to destination, it would

¹ A technique, by which water was transported from one side of a depression or valley to the other by means of a closed pipeline under pressure according to the principle of communicating vessels.

² Smith 1976, 58 and 68.

³ Hodge 1992, 124.

⁴ Hodge 2000, 83.

⁵ Lewis 1999, 145 and 171. See also Lewis 2000, 349-50.

⁶ Hodge 1992, 1.

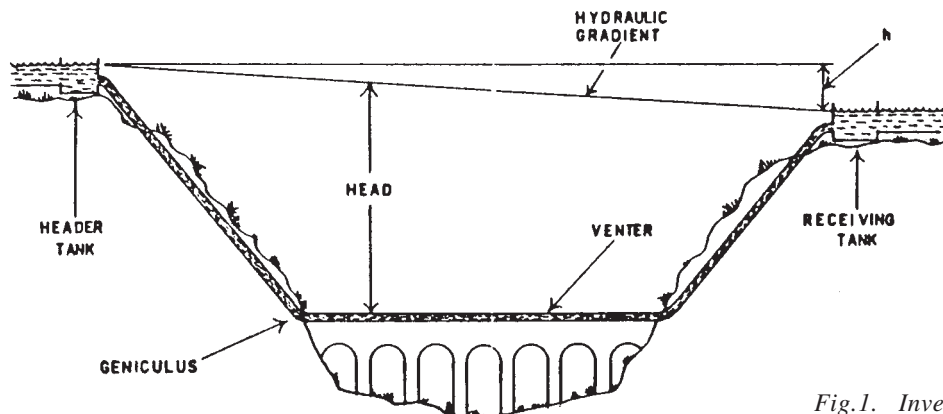


Fig.1. Inverted siphon, according to Hodge 1992.

do so, and it would get there all by itself.⁷ The challenge was to build a channel or pipeline to meet this condition, which meant careful surveying over great distances and the construction of at times very long tunnels and huge bridges.⁸ In case a valley was too

deep or too wide, an inverted siphon was applied, a technique that originated from the Hellenistic era (*Fig. 1*).⁹ Table 1 lists some classical siphons,¹⁰ some of which gained considerable length.¹¹

| Place | | Aqueduct | Siphon | Material | Length (m) | Max. depth (m) | Hydraulic gradient (m/km) |
|-----------------------------|----------|------------|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Smyrna ¹² | (Turkey) | Kara-Bunar | Kara-Bunar | ceramic/stone | 4400 | 158 | 1.1(?) |
| Lyon ¹³ | (France) | Yzeron | Craponne-Lyon | lead | 3600 | 91 | 9.2 |
| Lyon ¹⁴ | (France) | Mont d'Or | d'Ecully | lead | 3500 | 70 | 3.1 |
| Lyon ¹⁵ | (France) | Brévenne | Grange-Blanche (Ecully) | lead | 3500 | 90 | 4-5.6 |
| Pergamon ¹⁶ | (Turkey) | Madradağ | Pergamon | lead | 3250 | 190 | 12.6 |
| Lyon ¹⁷ | (France) | Gier | Beaunant (l'Yzeron) | lead | 2660 | 122 | 3.0 |
| Lyon ¹⁸ | (France) | Yzeron | Grezieux-Craponne | lead | 2200 | 33 | 3.2 |
| Aspendos ¹⁹ | (Turkey) | Aspendos | Aspendos | stone | 1670 | 45 | 8.3 |
| Lyon ²⁰ | (France) | Gier | Soucieu (le Garon) | lead | 1210 | 93.5 | 4 |
| Laodikeia a/L ²¹ | (Turkey) | Laodikeia | Laodikeia | stone | 800 | 50 | 26 |
| Lyon ²² | (France) | Gier | St. Genis (la Durèze) | lead | 700 | 79 | 8.3 |
| Lyon ²³ | (France) | Gier | St. Irénée (Trion) | lead | 575 | 38 | 4 |
| Oinoanda ²⁴ | (Turkey) | Oinoanda | Oinoanda | stone | 500-700 | 22 | 6-16 |
| Lyon ²⁵ | (France) | Mont d'Or | Cotte-Chally(R.Limonest) | lead | 420 | 30 | 19 |
| Patara ²⁶ | (Turkey) | Patara | Delik Kemer | stone | 260 | 20 | 18.5 |

Table 1: Length, maximum depth and hydraulic gradient for some classical siphons.

For the pipes of these siphons several materials were used, lead, stone, concrete, ceramics/terra-cotta and combinations of these. Disregarding concrete, the conduits were made of prefabricated pipe elements. The lengths of these pipe elements varied, 40-70 cm for terra-cotta pipes, 50-100 cm for perforated stone blocks, and up to 3 m for soldered lead pipes. The pipe elements were fitted together by sliding one end into its larger neighbour, i.e. one end of the pipe being slightly narrower than the other (terra-cotta pipes), or by means of a socket and flange system (stone pipes, terra-cotta pipes). These joints were sealed by means of an expanding oil/quicklime mixture.²⁷ For the lead conduits cast pipes as well as lead sheets bent into a pipe and soldered at the seam were used.²⁸ The lead pipes were connected by means of male/female joints, sometimes applying a stone intermediate and sealed with the expanding mixture as was done in Ephesus, or by soldering the pipes together.²⁹ Fragments of lead piping from siphons have survived. In 1992 J. Hansen investigated the 33 lead pipes recovered over a period of 250 years (1570-1825) from the Rhône river, now conserved at the museum of Arles. The 3 m long pipes, 10-12 cm in diameter with a continuous soldered seam along their length, were part of a siphon that crossed the Rhône on the riverbed, between Arles and Trinquetaille. Before soldering these pipes together, one end was

⁷ The longest Roman aqueduct, 250 km, brought waters to Constantinople (Çeçen 1996).

⁸ For surveying techniques see e.g. Grewe 1998.

⁹ Siphons in classical aqueducts have been the subject of extensive studies and discussions in literature, see e.g. Smith 1976, 45-71; Fahlbusch 1982, 63-93; Hodge 1983, 174-221; Hodge 1992, 147-160; Hodge 2000, 77-87; Lewis 1999, also Lewis 2000.

¹⁰ By convention 'siphon' in the archeological sense refers to an inverted siphon (see e.g. Hodge 1992, 33), which apparently still leads to confusion (Blackman 2001, 411).

¹¹ See also Fahlbusch 1982, 65 tab. 4.

¹² Weber 1899.

¹³ Burdy 1998.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Fahlbusch 1982, fig. 42.

¹⁷ Burdy 1998.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Kessener 2000.

²⁰ Burdy 1998.

²¹ Weber 1898.

²² Burdy 1998.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Stenton and Coulton 1986, 34-5.

²⁵ Burdy 1998.

²⁶ Observation by author, 1996.

²⁷ Malinowski extensively discusses sealing materials for aqueducts and pipelines under pressure (Malinowski 1976 and 1996).

²⁸ Cast pipes: Pergamon, Ephesus. Soldered pipes: e.g. Lyon, Arles, Vienne. See Hodge 1992, 307-315; Fahlbusch 1982, 68-80.

²⁹ 'Marmor maffen': Hodge 1992, 110; Tölle Kastenbein 1992. Soldered joints: see Hodge 1992, 156, 314. At the Madradag siphon at Pergamon the cast pipes were presumably joined by lead sleeves slid over the ends (Fahlbusch 1982, 70-71).

slid into the other and a large iron nail was driven through the middle perforating the walls of both pipes. A layer of solder was then applied from the outside covering the ends as well as the nail, which in some pipes still can be seen sticking inside and which must have perturbed the flow to some extent. Hansen noted that the soldered joints are not to be considered as weak spots in the pipeline ('*waren nicht das schwache Glied der Kette*'),³⁰ an indication that the solder was applied according to the state of the art and that the soldering material was as strong as the leaden wall of the pipe itself.

Thus the pipe elements that were applied for siphons may be subdivided into two categories. The first category elements comprise lead pipes soldered together at the joints. These elements make up conduits of homogenous material, because the soldering of joints may be considered as strong and resistant to pressure as the material of the pipe elements itself.³¹ Such pipes will burst along their length like a sausage in a frying pan if the inside pressure becomes too high.³² The second category pipe elements have their joints sealed with the classic oil/quicklime mixture. These elements make up pipes that are not very resistant against forces directed along their length, because the tensile strength of sealing material is much smaller than that of stone or ceramic, or lead.³³ Such pipelines are susceptible to bursting perpendicular to their length, at the joints.

The choice to apply first or second category pipe elements has consequences for the provisions that had to be taken for the proper functioning of the siphon and avoidance of damage. To understand this the effects of water flow on conduits must be considered. The factors involved are static water pressure, drag of flow, inertial thrust, presence of air, and pressure surges/water hammer.³⁴ Drag of flow and inertial thrust may be discarded, as generally the flow velocity in classical siphons was not very high.³⁵ Static pressure threatened conduits of second category elements, mainly at bends (*geniculi*), both horizontal and vertical. The pipe elements that make up the bends must be prevented from sliding from their position by constructing proper foundations, by adding weights or sand ballast, or by connecting the elements to each other e.g. by metal clamps.³⁶ For first-category pipelines the *geniculi* were no preferred spots for damage by static pressure. These conduits could burst somewhere along their length whenever the inside pressure would rise too high; this occurs where pressure is highest, in the deepest part of the siphon.³⁷

Air may interfere with normal siphon operation in two ways. If elevated points are incorporated in the siphon, air pockets may get stuck in the conduit at the downstream side of these humps. Such air pock-

ets reduce the pressure head available to run the siphon, the less, however, the deeper the siphon is because the air pockets are then compressed to smaller size.³⁸ If this loss exceeds the available head

³⁰ Hansen 1992, 478. A finding of a 90 cm long segment of lead pipe, diameter 31-34 cm, which is all that remains from an amount of ten tonnes of lead recovered from the Rhône at Vienne as late as 1980 and subsequently 'recycled' by melting it down indicates that a lead siphon crossed the river at that point as well (Burdy and Cochet 1992).

³¹ This applies to cast pipes as well as to pipes made from lead sheets with a continuous soldered seam (which of course depends on the quality of the soldering; see also note 32). Resistance against pressure from the inside is determined by the tensile strength of the material the pipe is made from. Theoretically a pipe can burst in two ways: either lengthwise, or perpendicular to its longitudinal axis. The minimum pressure $P(l)$ needed to make it burst lengthwise equals: $P(l) = \lambda(p) \cdot d/R$, where $\lambda(p)$ = the tensile strength in the direction perpendicular to the longitudinal axis of the pipe, d = the thickness of the pipe wall, R = the diameter of the pipe. To make it burst perpendicular to its length, the minimum inside pressure $P(p)$ must be: $P(p) = 2\lambda(l) \cdot (d/R) \cdot (1+d/R)$, where $\lambda(l)$ = the tensile strength of the material in lengthwise direction. For pipes made of homogeneous material $\lambda(p) = \lambda(l)$, from which follows that: $P(p) > 2 \cdot P(l)$. This means that the minimum pressure to burst the pipes perpendicular to their length is at least twice the pressure needed to burst the pipes lengthwise. Resistance of lead pipes to static pressure has been discussed by Fahlbusch 1982, 78-80, see also Hodge 1983, 211-212, Hodge 1992, 429 n.49.

³² In case of inferior soldering the conduit will still burst lengthwise, unless the soldering of the joints is more than twice as weak than that of the seam; this does not seem probable in view of Roman soldering techniques as observed by Hansen.

³³ The tensile strength of the sealing material has as yet not been thoroughly studied in contrast with its compressibility/resistance to pressure; it is estimated to be less than 1/10th of the value of its compressibility, and much less than the tensile strength of stone or ceramic (Malinowski, personal communication).

³⁴ For a discussion, see Kessener 2000, 122-129.

³⁵ For instance for the Aspendos siphon as well as for the Pergamon siphon flow velocity was about 1 m/sec at full operation, which is average walking speed (Aspendos: 1.05 m/sec (Kessener & Piras 1997, 167); Pergamon: 1.23 m/sec. See also Kessener 2000, 122-125).

³⁶ The pipe blocks of the Delik Kemer siphon of the Patara aqueduct were originally prevented from both horizontal and upward movement by metal clamps (Stenton & Coulton 1986, 56).

³⁷ The significance of the distinction between first and second-category pipelines remains underestimated, see Blackman 2001, 412-3. Blackman discusses for instance the forces exerted by the water on a bend in a pipe, with 'the bolts holding the flanges together'. However, stone or clay pipes were not equipped with flanges and bolts, and the Roman engineer had to apply alternative means to secure the *geniculus* elements and keep the pipeline intact.

³⁸ Some air may also be dissolved into the water due to higher pressure, which air will be released when pressure diminishes again (compare bubbles emerging after opening a soda bottle, or the mechanism causing diver's disease). The absorption nitrogen gas in water of 20 °C is 15.5 ml per liter of water for each bar of pressure increase (Best & Tailor 1966, 967). For large air bubbles and air pockets this represents a minor effect as compared to reduction of size due to compression. In general, the solubility of a gas decreases with rising temperature.

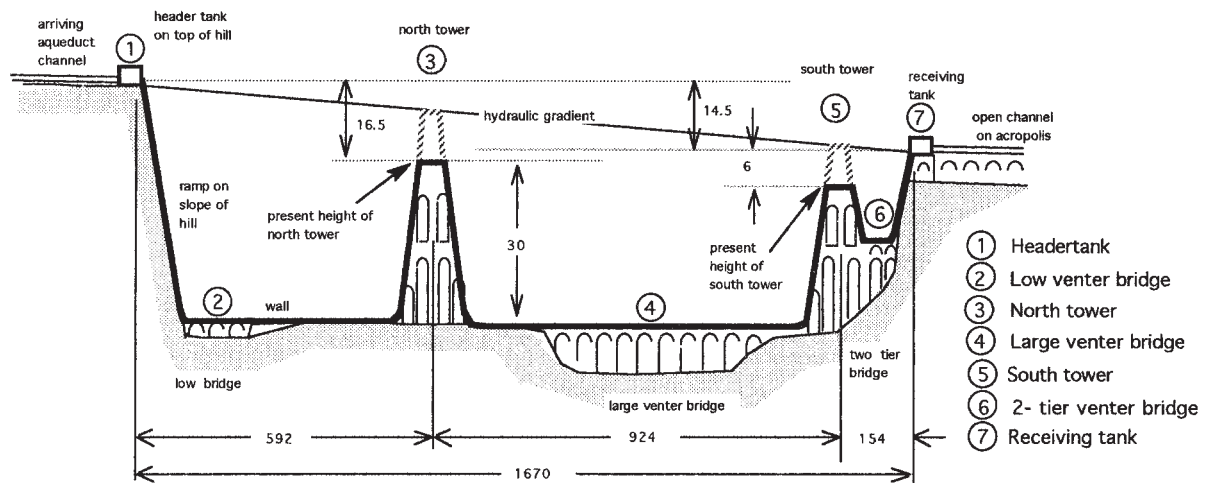


Fig. 2. The Aspendos siphon (distances and heights in m., not to scale).

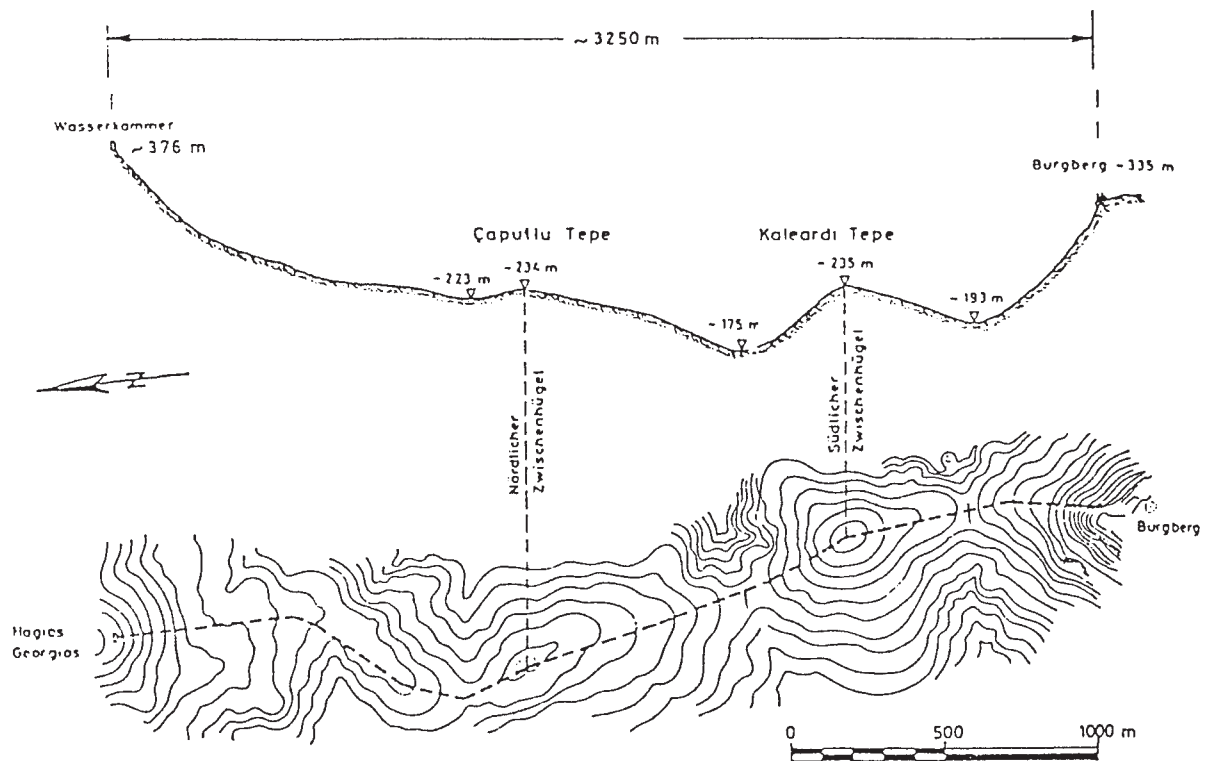


Fig. 3. The Madradağ siphon at Pergamon.

the siphon will not start up. It can be shown that the Aspendos siphon with its two hydraulic towers (Fig. 2) - in case a closed conduit had run over the top of the towers even at present height - would not get started because of such air pockets, which proves that the Aspendos towers were equipped with open tanks on top.³⁹ The Madradağ siphon at Pergamon (Fig. 3),⁴⁰ deepest of all classical siphons, had two intermediate

high points, but due to the compression of the air pockets flow would be reduced to only 90% of its maximum. But there still was a threat. At the header

³⁹ See Kessener 2000, 117 and 125-6. Detailed calculations are available from the author. In Fig. 2 it is indicated that in the original situation the towers were higher than at present.

⁴⁰ Garbrecht 1978, Fig. 2; Fahlbusch 1982, Fig. 42.

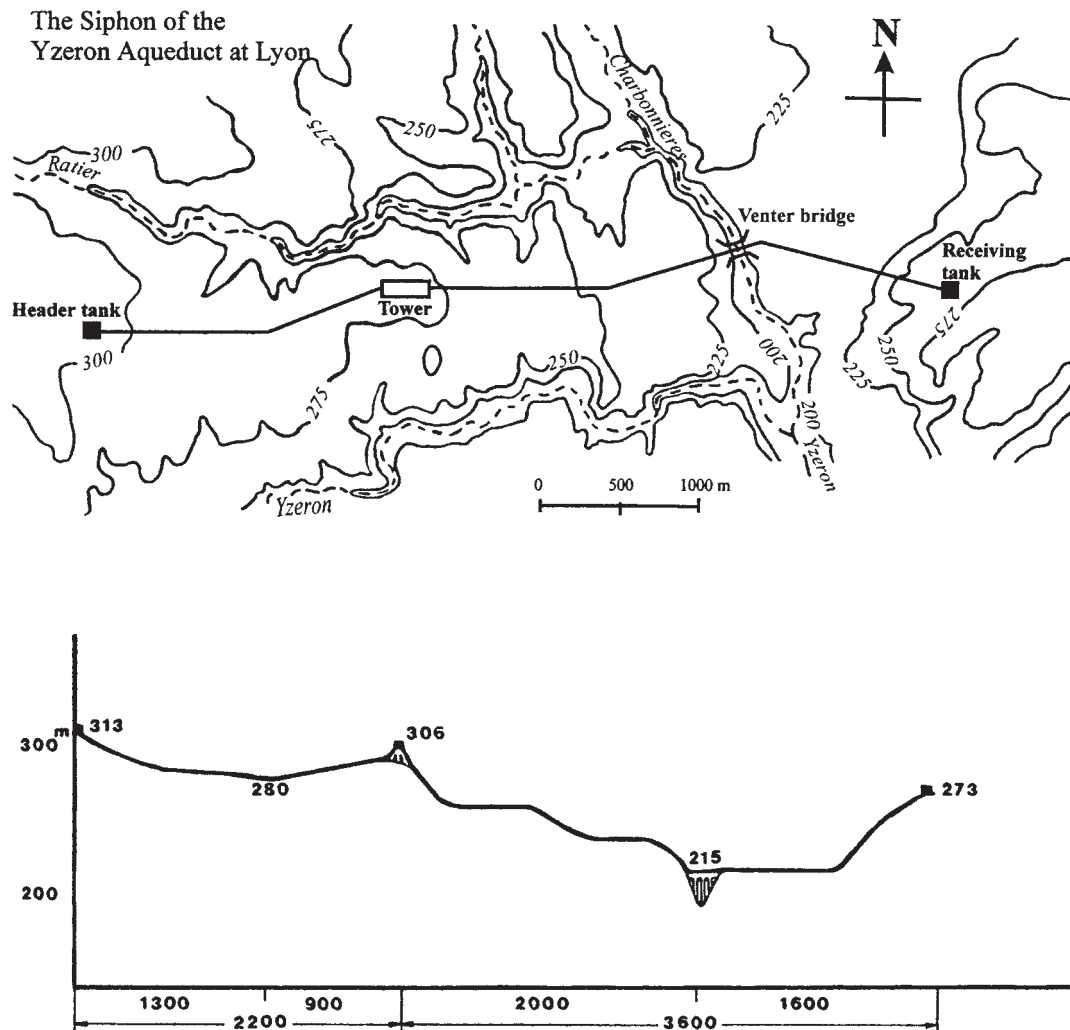


Fig. 4. The Yzeron siphon at Lyon (distances and heights in m.).

tank air may be entrained into the conduit and transported towards the air pockets adding to their volume.⁴¹ The loss of head would then be increased and the head driving the siphon would become reduced, which in the end may result in a stop of flow. On the other hand, at the down stream end of the air pockets a transition from free surface flow to full conduit flow occurs, where air may be entrained into the water again.⁴² Air bubbles thus may again move with the flow, away from the air pockets, reducing their volume. For the Madradağ siphon it may be shown that the air pockets were purged out in this way by the water flow itself, whereby the siphon evolved to full capacity on its own.⁴³ We may wonder whether the Pergamon engineers were aware of

⁴¹ On entrainment of air into conduits at the intake see for instance Knauss 1983.

⁴² Falvey 1981, 48-51. The conduct of air bubbles in sloping conduit is determined by bubble size, conduit diameter, slope angle, flow velocity, roughness of the pipe interior, and viscosity of the water. An air bubble will move with the flow if the velocity exceeds a certain critical value V_{cr} . According to Falvey it may be derived that $V_{cr} = (4 * g * D_b * \sin \alpha / (3 * C_b))^{1/2}$, where g = acceleration of gravity = 9,81 m/sec², D_b = diameter of bubble in m, α = slope angle of conduit, and C_b = drag coefficient of air bubble. The steeper the slope angle and the larger the bubble size, the less readily bubbles will move with the flow. In certain conditions large air bubbles ('slugs') may move against the flow while small bubbles move with the flow. Such slug may 'collect' the smaller air bubbles moving downstream, producing air bubbles again at its downstream end, leaving the total volume of the moving slug more or less stationary. See also Baines and Wilkinson 1986.

⁴³ Kessener 2000, 125.

this phenomenon, but the siphon operated as expected and miraculously transported water uphill to the top of the acropolis, no doubt to the amazement of its citizens. In contrast, the Yzeron siphon at Lyon (Fig. 4),⁴⁴ which course included an unavoidable high point, would start up at only 60% of its full capacity because of locked air and subsequently evolve to a complete standstill if the 16 m high intermediate tower at les Tourillons, with sloping ramps and with an open tank on top, had not been built.⁴⁵

Apart from air pockets reducing the flow or even preventing start up, and entrainment of air causing siphons with high points to evolve to a complete standstill, air in the conduit may give rise to water hammer effects.⁴⁶ These pressure surges may result either from the presence of air pockets at local high points, or, worse, from air escaping from leaking spots.⁴⁷ The shock waves travel along the conduit, threatening second-category conduits at the bends, especially at horizontal bends as these are less readily fixed. For the Aspendos case the two hydraulic towers, built at horizontal bends, split the siphon up into three consecutive ones eliminating the bends altogether, thus preventing effects from both static pressure and water hammer at these points.⁴⁸ Leaks must have occurred frequently in second-category siphons as the joints disappear from view as soon as the pipes or stone blocks were pushed into position. The only thing that could be done was to skim the inside of the joint to remove excess sealing material and bring it to a smooth surface. Leaks would become apparent only after the siphon had been completed and put to the test. At Aspendos the stone conduit of the siphon counted over 3000 sealed joints, and calcareous incrustations (*sinter*) hanging from the underside of one of the surviving arches of the large bridge between the hydraulic towers are a sure sign of such leaking spots (Fig. 5). At Patara, at the south coast of Turkey, the inscriptions above the two passages through the 10 m high wall on which the conduit of the Delik Kemer siphon is installed are covered with traces of *sinter*, showing that leaks occurred here as well.⁴⁹ The twin stone conduit of the siphon at Laodikeia ad Lykum, still *in situ* today for 40-50 m on the slope down from where the header tank was located (Fig. 6), also shows adherence of thick calcareous deposits on the outside of the left hand conduit at several points.⁵⁰ Furthermore at spots where the stone conduits of this siphon are destroyed, the bore reveals a thick layer of calcareous incrustation deposited on the inside. These deposits have a remarkable non-circular shape, they are thickest on the sides, less thick at the top, and have a V-shaped groove at the lower side (Figs. 7, 8). Obviously incrustation occurred less at the

upper side of the conduit, as well as at the lower side. The explanation is that air bubbles, accumulating at the crown of the conduit, must have been transported down the pipe, preventing deposits at the top to some extent (the upper part of the conduit is exposed to the sun, so without air in the pipe one would expect a thicker layer instead because of the elevated temperature). The V-shaped groove at the bottom was caused by debris like sand, dirt, and small pebbles, rolling along with the flow at the downside of the conduit, preventing and abrading incrustations.⁵¹ So we have proof not only that the second-category pipelines were leaking, but also

⁴⁴ Burdy 1991, 101; Kessener 2000, Fig. 26.

⁴⁵ Kessener 2000, 126.

⁴⁶ Water hammer may be defined as a pressure surge in the conduit caused by a substantial change of the velocity of the water flow, e.g. by the sudden closure of a valve. It is not known, however, that classical siphons were equipped with valves or shutters.

⁴⁷ For a discussion, see Kessener 2000, 126-9, also Schnapauff 1966. For air escaping from a leaking spot the magnitude of pressure shocks arising from the associated sudden change in water velocity, which occurs as soon as the air pocket has escaped entirely from the conduit, may be estimated as follows: $dH = 0.5 \cdot c \cdot dV/g$, where dH = pressure rise in m of water column, c = velocity of sound in water = 1000 m/sec, dV = difference in velocity of the water inside the conduit upstream from the leak just before and just after the air has passed through the orifice, and g = acceleration of gravity = 9.81 m/sec. dV may be calculated on the basis of continuity, as the decrease of the volume of the air pocket relates to the outflow of compressed air through the orifice: $dV \cdot A_c = V_a \cdot A_h$, where A_c = conduit cross section in m², V_a = velocity of compressed air escaping through leaking orifice in m/sec, A_h = cross section of leaking orifice in m². V_a may be derived from air flow through small orifices at high back pressures, see Falvey 1980, fig. 45. For an orifice of 12 mm diameter, at gage pressure of 400 kPa (about the equivalent of a pressure of 40 m of water column), the air-flow through the orifice is about 0.05 m³/sec (see Falvey's graph). The resulting velocity V_a of air escaping from the orifice is about 440 m/sec, which is super sonic (noise). Hence, e.g. for the deepest section of the Aspendos siphon $dV = V_a \cdot A_h / A_c \approx 0.8$ m/sec, whence $dH = 0.5 \cdot 1000 \cdot 0.8 / 9.81 = 40$ m of water column. This means that for the Aspendos siphon, discarding factors that may have a diminishing effect such as the presence of very much air in the conduit, water hammer caused by air escaping from a leaking orifice of 12 mm diameter could result to sudden pressure increases of almost 100 percent.

⁴⁸ Kessener 2000, 129.

⁴⁹ Both passages bear an inscription, on alternating sides of the wall.

⁵⁰ The right hand conduit is partly buried, mainly the top being visible. See also Weber 1898.

⁵¹ Which also means that the conduit was liable to get obstructed. Apart from irregularities in the pipe diameter where debris might accumulate preferred spots for obstruction occur at changes to lesser gradient, where the direction of flow becomes more opposed to gravity (especially at the *geniculi*). The funnel-shaped holes connecting the bore to outer atmosphere found on top of many stone pipelines may be associated with a diagnostic procedure to spot obstructions and the subsequent purging. During siphon operation the holes were closed by stone plugs fixed with mortar (compare e.g. Kessener 2000, n. 65).



Fig. 5. Calcareous incrustations hanging down from one of the arches of the large bridge of the Aspendos siphon.



Fig. 6. Stone conduits of the twin siphon at Laodikeia a/L., sloping down from location of header tank at electricity pole at the top.



Fig. 7. Pipe block of right hand conduit of the Laodikeia siphon, showing calcareous incrustations inside the bore.

Fig. 8. Detail of Fig.7 (15 cm white pencil inside conduit).



that air was transported down the conduits. This means that water hammer effects due to leaks indeed must have occurred in second-category conduits. In contrast, lead conduits with soldered joints were much less prone to leaking as the soldering mixture was applied from the outside, which greatly facilitated inspection and repair.

VITRUVIUS

Vitruvius' text on aqueducts covers paragraphs 1 to 10 of Book VIII, Chapter 6 of *De Architectura*. The first three paragraphs discuss general principles of how to transport water (by means of open channels, by lead pipes, or by earthenware conduits) as well as distribution methods and the construction of tunnels. In par. 4 to 10 piped conduits and siphons are considered. In par. 4 Vitruvius states the dimensions of lead pipes in relation to the manufacturing process: diameter of the pipes, their length and weight, and the dimensions of the lead sheets to be bent into a pipe and soldered at the seam.⁵² In par. 10 Vitruvius advocates terra-cotta conduits as being healthier than lead pipes.⁵³ The sections of most interest are par. 5 to 9, which will be discussed more extensively below (full Latin text: see Appendix).

Vitruvius starts his discussion with piped aqueducts made from lead, par. 5-7, and subsequently describes terra-cotta conduits in par. 8-9, clearly distinguishing between the two. In par. 9 he explicitly mentions that, apart from his remarks on precautions necessary for terra-cotta pipes, everything should be done the same as for lead conduits.⁵⁴ According to par. 5 the lead conduits should be laid sloping down regularly from source to city, just as open channels, running parallel to hillsides to circumvent valleys. The pressure in these conduits would be low or even lacking, as the pipeline itself followed the hydraulic gradient line, the water running as in an open channel.⁵⁵ Depressions should be brought to level, Vitruvius argues, by building a substructure as for the case of open channels. This all seems quite obvious, and the perfect case represents a lead pipe with constant slope in which the water flows as in an open channel, or, as soon as running full, e.g. in case the slope decreases, in which all entrained air would be transported to the end of the line. A change to steeper slope, however, could be the cause of accumulation of air into a pocket at such point, as air bubbles will be transported less readily down the steeper section and thus get stuck, and pressure head could be lost. The flow would slow down, and, if the steeper section is extended and the loss of head sufficiently large, it might slow down to such extent that large air bubbles start travelling backward

against the flow. This would further hamper flow, but in the end the air would be released at the start of the line and flow would be restored. A pipeline with varying downward gradients thus would deliver water, be it with a discharge changing over time or even stopping intermittently.⁵⁶

At the start of a depression the gradient also changes to steeper slope, and a similar effect may occur. But now air may also collect at the downstream end of a depression, where the conduit changes gradient again. This air cannot be released by travelling upstream, and a subsequent depression would lock such air in the section in between. The conduit may then evolve to a permanent standstill, and in case a number of depressions are incorporated in the pipeline the conduit may even fail to start up because of air pockets. The recommendation of Vitruvius - *necesse est substruere ad libramenta* - thus must be considered sound and vital for the proper functioning of piped aqueducts made of lead.⁵⁷

It may not, however, be possible to level out such depression by building a substructure or even a bridge, while it neither can be circumvented. For this case (*sin autem valles sunt perpetuae*) Vitruvius explains the principle of the inverted siphon: go down the slope (*in declinato loco cursus dirigitur*), build a foundation in the bottom of the valley not very high (*cum venerit ad immum, non alte substruitur*), but horizontally as long as possibly feasible (*ut sit libramentum quam longissimum*). This is the *venter* (*hic autem erit venter, quae graeci appellant κοιλίαν*). At the other side of the valley (*deinde cum venerit adversus clivum*) the water will gently rise out of the long space of the *venter* (*ex longo*

⁵² For a general discussion on the production methods of lead piping see e.g. Hodge 1992, 307-315; Fahlbusch 1982, 68-80.

⁵³ See e.g. Hodge 1981.

⁵⁴ Callebat applies this subdivision for the headings of his translation, Callebat 1973, 28-29.

⁵⁵ Compare Hodge 1992, 114 ff.

⁵⁶ For a discussion see Corcos 1989.

⁵⁷ Presuming the conduit has no leaks. For clay pipes, much more prone to leaking because of the many joints and the way the sealing material must be applied, haphazard leaks could have a curing effect as air pockets might be released taking some loss of water for granted. The terra-cotta pipes of the archaic Greek aqueducts were usually buried underground, not always running full of water. If running full such leaks would prevent pipelines following irregularities of the terrain to come to a halt. The holes in the top of the clay pipes closed by a well fitting lid, to some extent watertight but surely not airtight, as have been found in many such conduits, would quite well serve to such purpose, possibly deliberately made for just that: systematical leaking spots. For such pipelines depressions did not have to be leveled out in contrast to their leaden - non leaking - counterparts. Compare e.g. Hodge 2000, 41; also Tölle-Kastenbein 1991.

spatio ventris leniter tumescit),⁵⁸ and will be pushed up to the height of the top of the hill (*exprimatur in altitudinem summi clivi*).

Venter, commonly accepted to represent the horizontal part of the siphon, means belly, bowel, entrails, intestines, womb, protuberance,⁵⁹ as is the meaning of *κοιλία*. In relation to siphons the Latin word is often left unchanged, as in Fig. 1. Granger translates *venter* by 'U-shaped bend', conforming to the shape of 'belly'; Fensterbusch uses *Bauch*.⁶⁰ The sloping of the conduits going down at one side of the valley and up again at the other is often less steep close to the bottom of the valley, and, with the deepest part made horizontal, the whole design indeed may resemble a belly shaped line.⁶¹ If we accept that according to Vitruvius a horizontal substructure is obligatory part of an inverted siphon, we may consider the possibility that the *venter* represents the siphon as a whole, not just this horizontal part. If the sentence first mentioning *venter* and the next one would have been written in reversed order there would be no misunderstanding.⁶² In any case, noting that Vitruvius writes 'horizontal as long as possible' (*ut sit libramentum quam longissimum*), he apparently must have realized that it was not always possible to build a horizontal section, which is also *non alte*,⁶³ crossing the lower part of the valley. This of course is related to the topographic characteristics of the depression. For the Yzeron siphon it was not possible to avoid a high point due to risings in the terrain. But as long as one proceeded by going down (Vitruvius does not say that the slope angle had to be constant), crossing the bottom of the valley horizontally to go up again at the other side, the contraption must work, and it did. We must, however, realize that in general a siphon may comprise high points.

The next paragraph consists of three phrases. The first phrase warns against not building a *venter*, because if one just puts a *geniculus* at the bottom of the valley, the water will burst out and destroy the pipe joints (*quodsi non venter in vallibus factus fuerit nec substructum ad libram factum, sed geniculus erit, erumpet et dissolvit fistularum commissuras*). This sentence seems puzzling, because if there is a horizontal part there will be two *geniculi* instead of one, at either side of the valley. Clearly with *geniculus* Vitruvius refers to a bend ('knee'), an abrupt change in direction involving two more or less straight sections, and of course one cannot have a 'knee' without these sections. The *geniculus* mentioned here would thus represent the downward and upward legs of a siphon, with an abrupt change of direction at the deepest point of the valley instead of a horizontal section supported by a substructure. And if we do not have a solid foundation, the joints at the *geniculus* element are indeed most at risk, which, however,

only applies to pipes of the second category. But *fistula* undoubtedly refers to pipes made from lead, not to ceramic or stone pipes with the lime-oil-mixture sealed joints. *Commissura* may be translated according to Lewis and Short as 'joining, band, knot, joint, seam'.⁶⁴ The expression *fistularum commissuras* may thus either represent the joining of the pipes, or the joining between the pipes. The latter translation ('joints') seems obvious and is commonly used,⁶⁵ but if we consider a *commissura* to be related to a single pipe, it would represent the lead seam along its length, result of the production method. Vitruvius discusses the characteristics of lead pipes in par. 4, and without explicitly mentioning the soldered seam there is no doubt that those are the pipes he is referring to. What happens when we have a bend in lead piping laid at the bottom of the valley without proper foundation? Of course, at the deepest point the pressure in the conduit is highest. As seen above, lead pipes burst along their length when the inside pressure becomes too high, considering that the joints between the pipes and the soldered seam are as strong as the pipe wall itself. If the pipe bursts, it will burst at the *geniculus* because pressure is highest at this point. The bend may, in the absence of a solid foundation, tend to sink into the terrain whereby the pipe's oval shape, the lead seam on top, may become stressed. This may cause additional separating forces at the seam, which, added to the water pressure, may result in rupture of the soldered seam and the splitting of the pipe along its length.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Translation of *ex* by 'because of' or the like, as by Fensterbusch or Morgan is without meaning in hydraulic terms (Fensterbusch 1964, 395; Morgan 1960, 245; Choissy 1971, 102).

⁵⁹ Lewis and Short 1927, see also the Oxford Latin Dictionary 1982.

⁶⁰ Granger 1962, 185; Fensterbusch 1964, 395.

⁶¹ For the sloping of the '*venter*' differing from horizontal, see Hodge 1992, 151, and Hodge 1983, 199 n 68. The third bridge of the Aspendos siphon had a slope of about 1 degree upward towards the receiving tank, the large bridge between the hydraulic towers runs horizontal (observation by author).

⁶² With *ex longo spatio ventris* left out. Vitruvius may have been eager to explain the contraption to the reader.

⁶³ Fensterbusch: *tam alte*. A substructure of such height that the leveled part is as long as possibly feasible would cross the valley at a height suitable for an open channel, precluding a siphon.

⁶⁴ Lewis and Short 1927.

⁶⁵ Morgan 1960, 245: 'the joints of the pipes'; Fensterbusch 1964, 397: '*Die Verbindungsfugen der Röhren*'; Calebat 1973, 29: '*les joints des tuyaux*'.

⁶⁶ Hodge 1992, 315 regards the *fistularum commissurae* as the joints between pipes putting Vitruvius's warning forward as an argument, which one might consider a *petitio principii* in the absence of further arguments. While he states that 'It is these joints between the sections, the *fistularum commissurae*, rather than the continuous seam, that the Romans evidently considered the weak point in the event of pressure or inertial thrust generated by the water (as in the warning of Vitruvius VIII, 6, 6)', he mentions in note 39 of the same paragraph: 'A notable exception was the big city-main of Pompeii, which had to have its top

Then follows a sentence that gave rise to frequent discussions in the past: *Etiam in ventre colliquiaria sunt facienda, per quae vis spiritus relaxetur*. Fensterbusch translates this sentence as ‘Auch muß man in dem Bauch Kolliquiarien anlegen, damit durch sie der Luftdruck gemindert wird’: *colliquiaria* are to be built in the *venter* in order to reduce the air pressure. The phrase contains *colliquiaria*, or *colluviaria*, a *hapax legomenon* that Fensterbusch does not attempt to translate.⁶⁷ An account of earlier interpretations is given by Fahlbusch and Peleg,⁶⁸ who relate the *colliquiaria* with the Aspendos towers and also with the secondary *castella* at Pompeii, the *suterazi* of the Ottoman waterworks at Akko and at Constantinople, and with some devices found in the aqueduct of Caesarea (Israel). The purpose of the *colliquiaria* is said to avoid forces resulting from water pressure or inertial thrust (e.g. Aspendos, les Tourillons, Caesarea, *suterazi*), or to allow air to escape from the water.⁶⁹ Hodge, however, associates *colliquiaria* with draincocks for emptying the siphon,⁷⁰ possibly for the purpose of maintenance and cleaning, an opinion clearly disputed by Fahlbusch et al.⁷¹ Recently Lewis, discussing the Alatri siphon and the great siphons at Pergamon and Smyrna, proposed that the *colliquiaria*, or rather *colluviaria* as he puts it, are to be seen as ‘natural features incorporated into the route of a siphon in the form of humps to reduce the static pressure and lessen the risk of burst pipes’. This explanation is new in the list, but the device at least relates to the deepest part of the siphon.⁷² We will leave the sentence and the interpretations for what they are for the moment, and only state here that the contested *colliquiaria* have something to do with air pressure.⁷³

seam frequently repaired as it was splitting under pressure.’ There is no particular reason why the lead pipes of Pompeii should be of inferior quality than elsewhere in the Roman empire, and of course large diameter pipes are more at risk for splitting under pressure than smaller caliber pipes, so the ‘notable exception’ should rather be regarded as common practice. And if we consider the soldering of the lead seam to be less strong than the pipe wall itself, which may have been the case considering the Pompeii findings, the soldering of the joints being of the same inferior quality, the pipes would still burst along the seam and not at the joints (compare note 31).

⁶⁷ Fensterbusch 1964, 397. Callebat (1973, 29) prefers *colluviaria* (translating by ‘*purgeurs*’), Lewis (1999, 164) *colluviaria*. See also Callebat’s extended commentary p.172 ff. Morgan 1960, 245 translates *colliquiaria* as ‘watercushions’ without explaining what he means by it. Granger 1962, Vol 2, p.185 n.11 uses the word ‘standpipes’. Smith 1976, 58 thinks of *colliquiaria* as air valves.

⁶⁸ Fahlbusch and Peleg 1992, 105–140.

⁶⁹ See also Tölle-Kastenbein 1991.

⁷⁰ Hodge 1992, 154; Hodge 1983, 213–217. Later Hodge merely states: ‘It is quite unclear what these *colluviaria* are or how they work’, mentioning several options: ‘Usually they are thought to be some device either to reduce water pressure or to blow off accumulated air pockets and air bubbles entrained into the pipe;

though a third possibility may be that they were access holes in the pipe to facilitate draining and cleaning. They remain a puzzle.’ (Hodge 2000, 83).

⁷¹ Fahlbusch and Peleg, 1992.

⁷² Lewis 1999, 165. As the pipe line of the Madradağ and of the Smyrna siphon, and possibly of the Alatri siphon, deliberately seem to traverse the top of intermediate hills, these hilltops, or humps, Lewis argues, must be what Vitruvius is talking about: devices to reduce static water pressure by incorporating humps in the course of the siphon. Indeed, when evaluating the course of the Madradağ siphon, the pipeline crosses the top of two intermediate hills, the Çaputlu Tepe and the Kaleardi Tepe, at 125 m and 105 m below the hydraulic gradient line. These hilltops could easily have been avoided. The depressions in between are located at 180 m and 144 m below the hydraulic gradient line, and surely it would not have made sense to install the pipeline on even lower grounds. But by circumventing the hilltops the pipeline should have been installed on the sloping along the hill-sides, which in times of heavy rainfall, because of erosion, would have endangered the integrity of the siphon, even in case the conduit was buried underground. For the extant course, however, crossing the hilltops as well as the saddles in between, the terrain slopes down on either side of the conduit all along its length, the conduit running from start to finish on the crest of the terrain. This protected the conduit against environmental degradation, apparent reason why such course was chosen at Pergamon, and at Smyrna and Alatri as well.

⁷³ For a discussion of the translation of *vis spiritus* by air pressure see Hodge 1983, 210. Lewis, however, states: ‘The important point is that Vitruvius’ *spiritus* should be not be equated with our air pressure: plain “pressure” is a closer approximation.’ Lewis puts two arguments forward to this (Lewis 1999, 163). First it is stated: ‘The *spiritus* in these passages is normally translated as “air pressure” or the like, and because there is no air pressure involved in siphons, Vitruvius has been castigated for not conforming to present-day hydraulic theory.’ Then, citing Seneca describing a fountain jet: ‘Seneca, speaking of a fountain jet fed by gravity (*Quaestiones Naturales* 11.9.2), asks “How could water be in tension without air? ... Neither hand nor machine can rival air in propelling water. It adapts itself to air, it is lifted by air mixed with it and forcing it on; fighting its natural tendency to fall, it rises”. This too, in modern terms, is nonsense.’ Then Lewis relates *spiritus* with the *pneuma* of the Stoics, the pervasive force which binds all matter (Lewis 2000, 349). However, as we have seen above, air *is* involved in siphons (which is acknowledged by Lewis further on in his 1999 article even proposing a device to release air pockets). It even is the cause of the greatest threat to their functioning. The ancients were aware of this, and Seneca’s description of a fountain jet mirrors this awareness. In a gravity-driven water fountain the jet squirts out of the nozzle due to the difference in pressure inside the nozzle and in outer atmosphere. In the conduit feeding the nozzle, which may be regarded as a small scale inverted siphon, the pressure is determined by the vertical height of the supplying water inlet. If air is introduced into the conduit, which may readily occur in a gravity driven system, such air may form an air pocket moving with the flow, which air pocket will be compressed in relation to the pressure inside the conduit. If such an air pocket reaches the nozzle, the air will be released into open atmosphere at a much faster rate than a similar volume of water. The water inside the conduit behind the air pocket will accelerate, until it reaches the nozzle outlet, squirting out higher from the nozzle than before the air pocket was released. This is obvious to the onlooker, who first observes that the water jet disappears while air escapes, and then sees the water jet jumping up higher than before, to go down to its initial height when equilibrium, without air, is reached again. This is no else than water hammer on a small scale, and Seneca, not understanding the physics but correctly observing the phenomenon, gives a fair description of it.

The third sentence of par. 6 states that, for lead pipes (*per fistulas plumbeas*), the described procedure for transporting water guarantees best results (*his rationibus bellissime poterunt efficere*) applying *et decursus et circumductiones et ventres et expressus* in this way,⁷⁴ with the only condition that there must be a regular fall between start and finish. In par. 7 Vitruvius suggests (*non est inutile*) to install a *castellum* every 24,000 feet in order to locate problem spots more quickly, advising that such *castella* should not be installed anywhere in the course of a siphon: *neque in decursu, neque in ventris planitia, neque in expressionibus, neque omnino in vallibus*, which is self evident.⁷⁵

In the following section (par. 8) Vitruvius turns his attention to aqueducts made from terra-cotta pipes, elements of the second category, telling the reader that for one thing these aqueducts are cheaper. He recommends that the pipe wall should be at least 2 inches wide and made to fit into each other to be sealed by the lime-oil mixture. He then proceeds to prescribe that the *geniculus* elements at either side of the horizontal part of a siphon should be made out of stone blocks (of red stone, *ex saxo rubro*) perforated in such way that the horizontal and sloping conduits tightly fit in.⁷⁶ For siphons made of second-category elements the joint between the *geniculus* element and its neighbouring horizontal pipe element is most at risk, at both ends of the horizontal part, and one of the options to solve this problem is to replace the terra-cotta *geniculus* element by a stronger and larger one, made of stone, which will less readily be broken or pushed out of place. Why such *geniculus* element must be made of red stone apparently refers to a quality related to craftsmanship of that time.⁷⁷

Proceeding in par. 9, Vitruvius states: *Ita librata planitia tubulorum ad decursus et expressionis non extolletur* ('in this way the levelled section of the pipes at the decline and at the ascending will not be destroyed [lifted out of place]'). As noted above, the joints at the *geniculus* elements at either ends of the horizontal part are particularly at risk, because of static pressure, and on top of that because of water hammer effects.⁷⁸ Vitruvius explains why: *Namque vehemens spiritus in aquae ductione solet nasci, ita ut etiam saxa perrumpat, nisi primum leniter et parce a capite aqua inmittatur et in geniculus aut versuris alligationibus aut pondere saburra continatur* ('Inside the water conduit such a strong air will arise that even the stone blocks will be destroyed, if the water is not first introduced slowly into the siphon, and if the conduit is not kept together at the vertical or horizontal bends with bands or sand ballast'). We have seen above that for second-category siphons water hammer effects may arise due to air

escaping from leaks, endangering the siphon's integrity especially at the bends. The *vehemens spiritus* may be associated with the pressurized air forcefully escaping from such leak, preceding the pressure blow. Apparently it was known to Vitruvius that air was the agent causing problems. The start up of a siphon must be carried out with the utmost care, as problems will undoubtedly arise when the air is not slowly driven out of the system.⁷⁹ Vitruvius here also makes a distinction between vertical and horizontal bends: *geniculis aut versuris*.⁸⁰ So we see that the dangers threatening pressurized conduits made of second-category elements were fully appreciated, and, after stating that everything else should be done the same as with lead conduits, Vitruvius recommends to first put ashes in the pipe line before start-up in order to seal the leaks: *Ita cum primo aqua a capite inmittatur, ante favilla inmittetur, uti coagmenta, si*

⁷⁴ The order of mentioning of the several items is remarkable. Evidently, in summarizing aqueduct systems made of lead piping, Vitruvius refers to the circumventing of valleys as well as to inverted siphons. If *decursus* (descent, downward course) would just represent the downward section of a siphon, the sequence does not make sense. If it refers to any section of conduit sloping down, and *ventres* to inverted siphons as a whole, while *expressus* on its turn to the end section of the line, the sentence reads perfectly normal.

⁷⁵ *Decursu* here must refer to the downward part of a siphon, and it may be noted that Vitruvius writes *in ventris planitia*, the horizontal part of the *venter*, which suggests that *venter* comprises more than the horizontal part of the siphon only, as otherwise *in ventre* would have sufficed. Granger translates: 'on the level portion of the (U-shaped) bend' (Granger 1962, 187); Fensterbusch: 'in dem waagerechten Verlauf des Bauches' (Fensterbusch 1964, 397).

⁷⁶ In this section *librati ventris*, the horizontal part of the siphon, is mentioned twice. See also below.

⁷⁷ Callebaut 1973, 179 suggests porphyry or a porphyry containing material. Lewis proposes trachyte or andesite for its strength (Lewis 1999, 169, also n.90).

⁷⁸ *ad decursus*: aut H; *ad Mar*; *a vi* Degering as in Fensterbusch (Fensterbusch 1964, 396): by the force generated by the descent and the rising of the water ('*a vi decursus et expressionis*'), which suggests that inertial thrust would be a threat to the siphon's integrity, which is not the case. In case *a vi decursus et expressionis* would represent static water pressure ('by the force of the [height of the] downward and upward pipe sections') the sentence makes sense, assuming the reading to be correct.

⁷⁹ During an uncontrolled start-up phase, when large amounts of water are suddenly introduced into the conduit, large air pockets will form in the horizontal section of the siphon, which air pockets will become increasingly compressed. The pockets will move with the flow, and once arrived in the upward leg the pockets may rise even faster than the water itself, expanding because of decreasing pressure and causing water to be pushed up or flow backwards underneath the pocket, giving rise to pressure surges in the conduit and at times violent expulsion of air and water at the receiving tank.

⁸⁰ As using of two different expressions for the same notion after mentioning *geniculus* twice in relation with vertical bends does not make much sense.

*qua sunt non satis oblita, favilla oblinatur.*⁸¹ Although mentioned at the end, Vitruvius's advice is of crucial importance to the *aquarius*: if he wishes to do his job properly when operating a clay or stone siphon, he should take care to cure the leaks as much as possible, not only for the loss of water, but mainly to avoid wrecking of the siphon from pressure blows resulting from air escaping.

Air is the problem to deal with, and Vitruvius mentions air in relation with both first and second category siphons. For both types air may interfere with the flow because of air pockets accumulating at high points. For the second-category siphons air may destroy the siphon at the bends, at any bend, and especially at horizontal bends, because of pressure surges at start-up and water-hammer effects due to leaking spots. And leaks could not be entirely prevented in second-category siphons. The deeper the siphon is, the worse these problems become. For shallow siphons, with lower pressure and lesser water hammer blows, one could suffice with weights or bands in case horizontal bends could not be avoided. At Aspendos a solution with hydraulic towers at the horizontal bends was chosen, long after Vitruvius wrote his work, so he cannot have been familiar with this specific situation.

Turning again to Vitruvius's description of how to conduct water by means of an aqueduct entirely made of lead pipes, it goes without saying that the upstream end of a siphon represents a change to steeper slope in the conduit where entrained air may accumulate to form an air pocket. The reasoning being similar as discussed above for depressions, flow may slow down because of head lost, and at some instance air would start to travel back towards the start of the conduit causing further reduction of flow (Fig. 9). For extended pipe lines it could take a very long time, days or maybe weeks, before a substantial fraction of the air would have gone out of the system and flow would be restored.⁸² Because of the flow slowing down, air bubbles in the conduit downstream of the siphon would also start to travel backward and accumulate at the siphon's end, the water flowing the other way towards the end of the conduit. Should a subsequent siphon be incorporated in the system, the section in between would represent a high point, where air may accumulate. This air cannot go anywhere and will be the cause of a permanent loss of head or even a complete blockage of flow. Thus an inverted siphon incorporated in an aqueduct of lead pipes, air entrained at the intake may be the cause of severe or even irreparable impairment of flow. What has to be done is to provide for means to release the air at these points, at the upstream and also at the downstream end of the siphon. This may be achieved by incorporating open

tanks at these points. Vitruvius recommends provision of *colliquiaria* in the *venter* in order to release air pressure. If we consider the *venter* to represent the siphon as a whole and not just the horizontal part, the header tank and the receiving tank would represent Vitruvius' *colliquiaria*. For an open channel aqueduct equipped with a siphon, the header tank is of course the end point of the open channel, and at the siphon's end the receiving tank is the start of the subsequent section of mortared conduit. For such systems, as at Lyon, no provisions have to be taken to let air out, which means that Vitruvius's contraption cannot be recognized unless we consider the tanks themselves to be *colliquiaria*. The Craponne tower of the Yzeron siphon would thus represent two *colliquiaria* combined: receiving tank to the first section of siphon and header tank to the subsequent part. For aqueduct systems solely made of lead pipes an open tank at the start and at end of the siphon would of course also suffice to get rid of the air. Such conduit systems, entirely made of lead pipes from source to city, have not been recovered.⁸³ But the Pergamon aqueduct equipped with the Madradağ siphon is just such a system for their terra-cotta counterpart. A 42 km triple clay pipeline ended at the header tank of this great single pipe siphon made of lead. Apart from enabling the transition from 3 pipes into 1 and the settling of entrained debris,⁸⁴ the tank prevented malfunctioning from air pockets that would be blocking the flow at this point. On the other hand, for the Smyrna aqueduct with the huge Kara Bunar siphon (2nd century BC),⁸⁵ which seems to have been entirely made of terra-cotta and stone pipe elements, no trace of a header tank whatsoever was found at its presumed location.⁸⁶ Here, just a simple hole in the top of a stone pipe element of the single supply line, at the starting point of the

⁸¹ This method of curing leaks has survived into our time, as some preparations for repairing leaking car radiators are based on the same principle of expansion of organic material that gets stuck in the leaking orifice.

⁸² At the start of the piped conduit the inflow would slow down or even come to a halt, and after some lapse of time air bubbles would start to emerge. Then, after a substantial amount of air had been released, flow would be restored again.

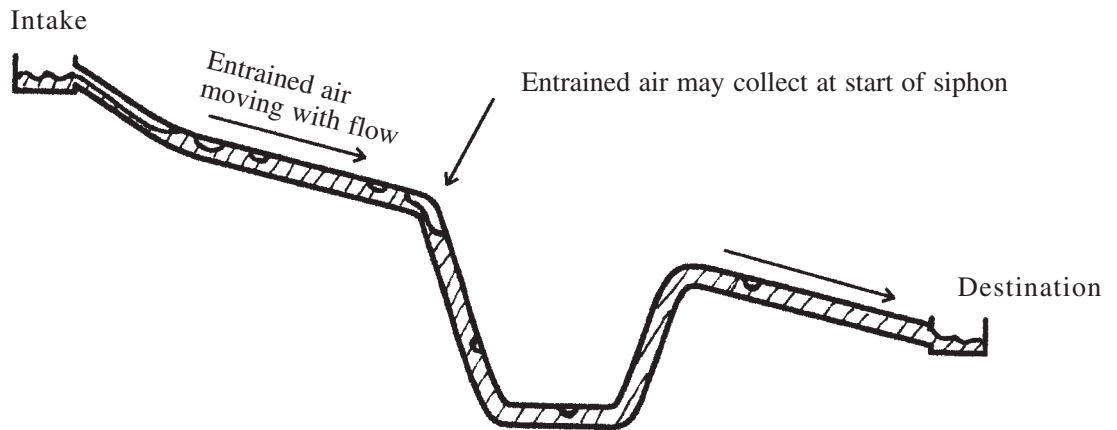
⁸³ The lead of course invariably robbed to be reused for other purposes, leaving no trace, with Ephesus as a possible exception (Lewis 1999, 157).

⁸⁴ The tank, with two compartments separated by a stone wall with connecting openings, seems to be designed for this purpose, as the triple inlet openings and the single outlet opening are positioned just below the upper end of the outer wall of either compartment (Garbrecht 1978, Fig. 3, 4; Fahlbusch 1982, Fig. 42). However, the position of the outlet opening near the upper end of the tank wall did not prevent entrainment of air into the siphon.

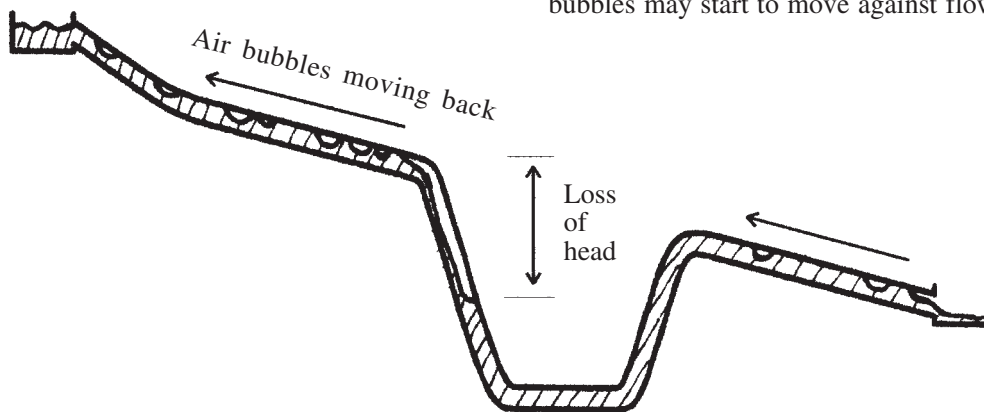
⁸⁵ Lewis 1999, 161.

⁸⁶ Weber 1899, 24.

Aqueduct made of lead pipes, with siphon.

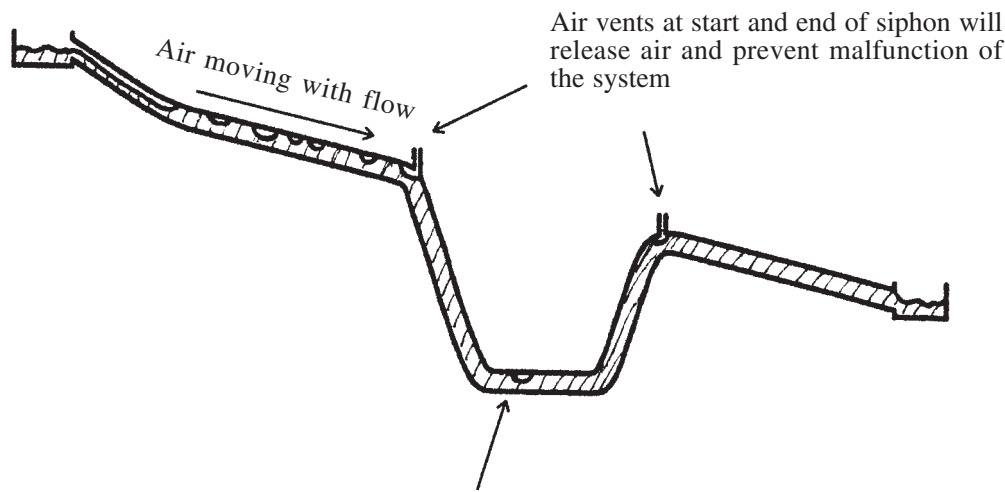


Due to loss of head flow velocity is reduced and air bubbles may start to move against flow.



The system will function periodically with varying debit. At times air bubbles may appear at the intake, after which debit may be temporarily restored. In case of subsequent siphons permanent and incurable standstill may evolve.

Fig. 9. Closed conduit aqueduct incorporating a siphon: debit changing periodically.



Any air entrained in siphon will pass without disturbing flow

The air vents may take form of stand pipes or open tanks as pressure in the system (except in siphon) is low/zero. For stand pipes *quinaria* are adequate.

Fig. 10. Closed conduit aqueduct incorporating a siphon. Air vents at the start and the end of the siphon, which for systems made of lead piping may take the form of a *quinaria* soldered on top of the conduit, guarantee continuous flow.

siphon, would have sufficed to prevent detrimental accumulation of air.⁸⁷

For lead conduits, instead of tanks at either end of the siphon, a very simple contraption would have served quite adequately to the same effect: a vertical pipe soldered on top of the conduit, standing upright, at the upstream and at the downstream end of the siphon, exposing the inside of the conduit to open air (Fig. 10). As the pressure inside the conduit is low at these points, the pipe may be short without water squirting out, while air will be released. If the start of the siphon, or best both ends, is equipped with such vent, impairment of flow caused by air will be prevented. No need for the pipe to be wide, a *quinaria* would suffice. For high points incorporated in a siphon, or at the interval between two siphons in a row, air pockets may again impair the flow, and air vents may be required here as well, which is feasible only when the conduit rises up to the hydraulic gradient line. If the siphon is deep enough and air is automatically purged out of the system by the water flow itself, air vents at humps may prove unnecessary, as was the case for the Pergamon siphon.

Before elaborating upon *colliquiaria* in this way, we should consider which arguments support *venter* to indeed represent the entire siphon instead of the horizontal section only, which must be considered *conditio sine qua non* for such an explanation.

⁸⁷The first 2 km of the Smyrna siphon was affirmed and mapped by Weber, the reconstructed course of the second and deeper part of this pressure line, based on minor evidence, is not certain. The main findings of the initial part of the Smyrna siphon consist of fragments of stonewalls and a number of stone and clay pipe elements, dispersed and moved from their original locations by the local people. At the location where the start of the siphon is presumed, Weber did not find any traces of a header tank what so ever (Weber 1899, 24: ‘...doch ist keine Spur davon vorhanden, und es bleibt fraglich, ob wirklich ein solches Becken hier angelegt war.’), contrasting to the situation at Madradag. If the Smyrna engineers came from Pergamon, which is suggested by Lewis (Lewis 1999, 161), one wonders why they should have left out a header tank. However, we do not really know where the Smyrna siphon started, or where it ended. A stone pipe element with funnel-shaped hole cut to the bore, found by Weber near one of the high points and interpreted by Lewis to have functioned as a valve to release air at the humps (Lewis 1999, Fig. 3), would have served quite well to release the air at the start of the siphon (without Lewis’s mushroom valve). At the humps, however, where the conduit was pressurized, such a valve would be hazardous to the siphon’s integrity because of water hammer.

Vitruvius mentions *venter* nine times in chapter 6:

- par. 5 1) *hoc autem erit venter, quae graeci appellant κοιλίαν*
 2) *ex longo spatio ventris*
 par. 6 3) *quodsi non venter in vallibus factus fuerit nec substructum ad libram factum*
 4) *etiam in ventre colliquaria sunt facienda*
 5) *quod et decursus et circumdictionibus et ventres et expressus hac ratione possunt fieri*
 par. 7 6) *neque in decursu neque in ventris planitia neque in expressionibus neque omnino in vallibus*
 par. 8 7) *et in declinationibus libramenti ventris lapis est ex saxo rubro*
 8) *uti ex decursu tubulus novissimus in lapide coagmentur et primus librati ventris*
 9) *ad eundem modum adversum clivum et novissimus librati ventris in cavo saxi rubri haereat*

Remarkably *ventris* appears four times in connection with an expression related to ‘horizontal’: *ventris planitia*, *libramenti ventris*, and *librati ventris* twice (nos. 6-9). If *venter* would represent just the horizontal part of the siphon, it seems odd to refer to something as ‘the horizontal part of the horizontal part’, a pleonasm four times in a row. Moreover, the contexts in which these expressions are used undoubtedly refer to the levelled part of the siphon, which is not so for the remaining five. In line 2), *longo* from *ex longo spatio ventris* does not comply with the horizontal section only, which for many siphons is short and represents only a minor part of the entire pressure line (e.g. the Lyon siphons). Lines 4), and clearly 5), may just as well refer to the siphon as a whole, which is also the case for line 1) (see above). Line 3) contains a seemingly superfluous part: if the *venter* represents just the (substructed) horizontal part of a siphon, why add *nec substructum ad libram factum*?

Thus it appears that indeed *venter* may very well represent the siphon as a whole. A conduit running down and up the valley sides, its lowest part levelled and supported by a solid foundation. Consequently, the explanation of *colliquaria* as air vents at the start and the end of the siphon proves realistic.

This interpretation of Vitruvius’ text on the conveyance of water meets the physics of gravity driven piped conduits equipped with inverted siphons. We may thus provide for ‘Vitruvius’ glossary on siphons and piped aqueducts’:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>Circumductio</i> | diversion of (piped) aqueduct along the valley sides in order to reach the other side of the valley |
| <i>Colliquaria</i> | air vents in the form of a lead pipe (<i>quinaria</i>) soldered on top of the conduit at the start and at the end of an inverted siphon incorporated in an aqueduct system made of lead pipes |
| <i>Declinatio</i> | section of inverted siphon sloping down |
| <i>Decursus</i> | section of conduit sloping down (part of piped aqueduct or part of a siphon) |
| <i>Expressio</i> | section of inverted siphon sloping up |
| <i>Expressus</i> | end section of piped conduit where the water flows out |
| <i>Fistulae commissura</i> | soldered seam of a pipe made out of a lead sheet |
| <i>Geniculus</i> | vertical bend in a conduit |
| <i>Libramentum</i> | downward gradient, levelled section |
| <i>Libramentum ventris</i> | levelled (lowest) section of inverted siphon |
| <i>Librata planitia</i> | levelled (lowest) section of inverted siphon |
| <i>Libratum ventris</i> | levelled (lowest) section of inverted siphon |
| <i>Vehemens spiritus</i> | water hammer, related to escaping of air from leaking spot in closed pressurized conduit followed by a pressure blow/violent pressure surges resulting from interaction of air and water during uncontrolled start-up |
| <i>Venter</i> | inverted siphon |
| <i>Ventris planitia</i> | levelled (lowest) section of inverted siphon |
| <i>Versura</i> | horizontal bend in a conduit |
| <i>Vis spiritus</i> | air pressure, pressurized air pocket |
| <i>Spiritus</i> | air |

PLINY AND LATER AUTHORS

Pliny is often quoted when discussing Vitruvius on siphons. Pliny’s text on water transport is short.⁸⁸ He starts with the recommendation to use terra-cotta pipes, *fictilibus tubis*, to be laid with the male joint downstream and sealed with a mixture of quicklime and oil. Then follows an advice on gradient and tunnelling.⁸⁹ The next frase is about lead piping: *quam surgere in sublime opus fuerit, plumbo veniat* (‘if it is necessary that [the water] rises upward, lead conduits must be used’).⁹⁰ Clearly such conduits are

⁸⁸ Pliny *NH* XXXI, 57-58.

⁸⁹ See for a discussion Lewis 1999, 146, and 151 ff.

⁹⁰ König 1994, 43: ‘Sollte es nötig sein, daß es in die Höhe steigt, dann muß es durch Blei(röhren) laufen.’

pressurized, and Pliny continues: *subit altitudinem exortus sui* ('it will rise to its own height'),⁹¹ which means that he is referring to inverted siphons. Before Pliny subsequently discusses the relation of the size of lead pipes to their weight, he writes: *si longius tractu veniet, subeat crebro descendatque, ne libramenta pereant* ('if the water comes from a long distance, it should frequently rise and fall, so that the gradient is preserved').⁹² Lewis regards this as 'blatant nonsense' and proposes that '*valles*' has dropped out or at least should be implied, whereby the sentence may refer to the *circumductio* of valleys.⁹³ But if we consider that Pliny is referring to siphons, just having mentioned pressurized conduits, the water indeed falls and rises, and of course the gradient will be preserved, and must be preserved, because this is how siphons operate. Skipping the section on sizes of lead pipes, Pliny writes: *in anfractu omni collis quinariam fieri, ubi dometur impetus necessarium est*, commonly translated by 'at every bend of the hill a *quinaria* must be made where the force may be moderated'⁹⁴, which is often associated with Vitruvius' sentence with *colliquiaria*. The meaning is not well understood, Lewis discards it as 'ridiculous': why have a 5-digit pipe installed 'at every bend of the hill'? Lewis argues that *anfractu* equates with Vitruvius' *venter*, and that *colli*⁹⁵ *quinaria* should read *colliquiaria*, the *-n-* added by later copyists, while Pliny himself changed *colluviaria*, or *colluviaria*, into *colliquiaria*, the latter having at least something to do with water ('pertaining to drains or gutters', *colliquiae*), so that after all Pliny reads like Vitruvius. But all indications are that Pliny refers to piped *aqueducts*, made of lead, equipped with siphons, for which siphons air vents must be provided at the upstream and downstream end as we have seen above. And if there are subsequent siphons, which is suggested by Pliny's preceding sentence, air vents must be located at the high points in between, where the pipe gradient changes from upward to downward and where obviously a vertical bend occurs, at any such bend, *in anfractu omni*. Air vents, which may take the form of a *quinaria* soldered on top of the lead pipe, 'on behalf of the hill', on the hill where the siphon begins and where it ends, and on the elevation between subsequent siphons: *colli quinaria*. Or, as Pliny adds, which may take the form of an open tank if necessary, as for instance at Les Tourillons: *item castella, prout res exigit*.⁹⁶ It rather seems that the copyists did leave out an *-n-* from Vitruvius' *colliqui(n)aria*, behind *-ui-*, instead of Lewis' unlikely proposal to have an *-n-* added by the copyists as well as Pliny having changed *colluviaria* into *colliquiaria*.

Both Vitruvius and Pliny discuss siphons incorporated in piped aqueducts. Open channel aqueducts,

with siphons made of lead, clay, or stone, are not elaborated upon. The engineer who understood his business would of course be able to combine open channels with stone or lead siphons. The header tank and receiving tank in such systems, high points in the siphon lacking, would prevent any air pockets blocking the flow, and *colli quinaria* in the strict sense would not be needed. Palladius (4th c. AD) discusses on his turn the ways to conduct water: by means of open channels, by lead conduits, by wooden channels, or by earthenware pipes.⁹⁷ Palladius has written after Faventinus (3rd c. AD), who drew on Vitruvius, Faventinus adding items as wooden channels (*canalibus ligneis*) and arched bridges noticeably absent from Vitruvius.⁹⁸ Both writers seem to keep the general Vitruvian picture, but on inverted siphons Faventinus is far from clear. To cross valleys Faventinus recommends substructures or arched bridges (*structura solida vel arcuati ad libramentum aquae occurratur*) adding *aut fistulis plumbeis aut canalibus libere cursus dirigatur*, which may refer to lead pressure pipes as well as to open channels circumventing the valley (with *librate* instead of *libere* in Krohn's reading, which Plommer rejects).⁹⁹ Palladius, discussing open channel aqueducts, is more straightforward: *sed si se vallis interserat, erectas pilas vel arcus ad aquae iusta vestigia construemus aut plumbeis fistulis clausam deici patiemur et explicata consurgere* ('but if there is a valley in between, we construct piers and arches to the right level of the water, or we allow it to go down in closed form through lead pipes and go up again at the other side'). Palladius does not mention any provisions to release air, and of course for such systems, open channels in combination with lead siphons, there is no need. Palladius continues to describe earthenware conduits, the joints of which to be sealed with the lime/oil mixture, *viva calce oleo subacta*, advising to introduce ashes into the conduit before start up in order to seal the leaks,

⁹¹ *ibid.*: 'Es steigt so hoch wie seine Quelle liegt.'

⁹² *ibid.*: 'Wenn es durch eine längere Strecke kommen soll, muss man es häufig steigen und fallen lassen, damit das Gefälle nicht verloren geht.'

⁹³ Lewis 1999, 151.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 166. König 1994, 43: 'Bei jeder Krümmung des Hügels ist es, um den Druck zu mindern, notwendig, fünfzollige zu verwenden'. See also Callebaut 1973, 174.

⁹⁵ *colli*, almost universally emended to *collis* (Lewis 1999, 166).

⁹⁶ Which open tank may be located on a man-made hill or on a tower.

⁹⁷ Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, *De Aquae Ductibus*, Agricultura IX, 11 (Teubner ed. 1898).

⁹⁸ For text of Faventinus and of Palladius, and commentary, Plommer 1973. See also Lewis 1999, 146.

⁹⁹ Plommer 1973, 53 and 92.

as in Faventinus and Vitruvius. The aqueduct systems Palladius describes, open channels equipped with siphons for the crossing of valleys - no *colli quinaria* needed -, will be recognized as the conveyance systems that are most familiar to us.

EPILOGUE

In contrast to the common view, Vitruvius' treatise on piped aqueducts very well meets the physics of gravity driven closed conduit systems. It adequately describes how to proceed when incorporating siphons, describing dangers that threaten them and proposing solutions to cope with these problems. As for modern textbooks, Vitruvius' texts may be read as a general manual: on how to build water conduits, including pressure lines, with the construction materials available at the time. An actual aqueduct would be, to the judgment of the engineer, a combination of these construction techniques. The remains of ancient aqueduct systems, investigated in our days, destroyed and invariably robbed from their metals, should not be interpreted as to have to meet Vitruvius' prescriptions to the letter.¹⁰⁰ They are the result of the solutions the engineer chose in view of availability of materials and labor force, of topographical and environmental considerations, of the planned debit of the system and the time set for construction, and, not the least, of economical aspects. The hydraulic problems involved when applying inverted siphons were mainly caused by air. The engineers were aware of these problems, and so was Vitruvius. In the first chapter of Book I Vitruvius sums up the skills that well educated architects must have. Philosophy, Vitruvius states, must be thoroughly studied, especially the branch the Greek call *φυσιολογία*, as it explains the nature of things and many different scientific questions, as for instance in relation to water conduits: *ut etiam in aquarum ductionibus*. Vitruvius mentions indeed air as the cause for problems: *incursibus enim et circumitionibus et librata planitie expressionibus spiritus naturales aliter atque aliter fiunt, quorum offensionibus maderi nemo poterit, nisi qui ex philosophia principia rerum naturae noverit* ('at the intakes as well as at the circumventing [of valleys] and at the ascents at the horizontal parts [of siphons] natural air is generated in different ways, the damages of which nobody can cure, unless from philosophy he knows the principles of things of nature').¹⁰¹ It is not without reason that this is mentioned in the very first chapter of Vitruvius' very first book. Effects from air in closed conduits and related phenomena are complex, and only those skilled in the art have understanding and know what to do. It is not Vitruvius who

did not know what he was writing about, but we, who did not grasp his words, castigating him for it. *Vitruvius rehabilitandus est*.¹⁰²

VAN SLICHTENHORSTSTRAAT 13
NL-6524 JH NIJMEGEN
E-MAIL: lenl@euronet.nl

APPENDIX

Vitruvius, *De architectura* VIII, 6, 4-9 (Latin text according to F. Krohn, 1912, including notes)

4. Sin autem fistulis plumbeis ducetur, primum castellum ad caput struatur, deinde ad copiam aquae¹⁰³ lumen fistularum constituatur, eaeque¹⁰⁴ fistulae <e>¹⁰⁵ castello conlocentur ad castellum, quod erit in moenibus. fistulae ne minus longae¹⁰⁶ pedum denum fundatur. quae si centenariae erunt, pondus habeant in singulas pondo MCC; si octogenariae, pondo DCCCCLX; si quinquagenariae, pondo DC; quadragenariae pondo CCCCLXXX; tricenariae pondo CCCLX; vicenariae pondo CCXL; quinum denum pondo CLXXX; denum pondo CXX¹⁰⁷; octonum pondo C; quinquariae pondo LX. e latitudine autem lamnarum¹⁰⁸, quot digitos habuerint, antequam in rotundationem flectantur, magnitudinum¹⁰⁹ ita nomina concipiunt fistulae. namque quae lamna¹¹⁰ fuerit digitorum quinquaginta, cum fistula¹¹¹ perficietur ex ea lamna¹¹², vocabitur quinquagenaria similiterque reliquae¹¹³.

5. ea autem ductio, quae per fistulas plumbeas est futura, hanc habebit expeditionem. quodsi caput habeat libramenta ad moenia montesque medii non fuerint altiores, ut possint

¹⁰⁰ As has been attempted for the *castellum divisorium* at Pompeii, see Ohlig 2000.

¹⁰¹ Reading of Krohn. *Incursibus*: at the start of piped aqueducts air bubbles may unexpectedly emerge from the conduit, see note 82. *Circumitionibus*: Vitruvius 8,6,5 on valleys that may be circumvented: *sin autem non longa erit circumitio*. *Librata planitie*: Vitruvius 8,6,9: *librata planitia*, the leveled part of the siphon.

¹⁰² This article was finalized shortly before Prof. J.A.K.E de Waele, of Dept. of Classical Archaeology of Nijmegen University, the Netherlands, strong advocate of research of ancient water systems, died in a tragic road accident on June 30, 2001, on his way to conduct excavations at Pompeii. During one of our discussions he suggested the above sentence. The article is dedicated to him to pay tribute to his commemoration.

¹⁰³ ad copiam aquae *ed*: ad copia quae x

¹⁰⁴ eaeque: aeq; H, eque G

¹⁰⁵ *add. Ro*

¹⁰⁶ neminus longae H: om. G

¹⁰⁷ cxx G: ccxx H

¹⁰⁸ laminarū G

¹⁰⁹ magnitudinem a. c. G

¹¹⁰ lamina G L G

¹¹¹ fistule G

¹¹² ib. n. 110

¹¹³ reliquae *ed*: reliqua x

interpellare, sed intervalla, necesse est substruere ad libramenta, quemadmodum in rivis et canalibus. sin autem non longa erit circumitio, circumductionibus, sin autem valles erunt perpetua, in declinatio cursus dirigentur. cum venerit ad immum, non alte substruitur, ut sit libramentum¹¹⁴ quam longissimum; hoc autem erit venter, quod Graeci appellant κοιλαν¹¹⁵. deinde cum venerit adversus clivum, ex longo spatio ventris leniter tumescit, <ut>¹¹⁶ exprimatur in altitudinem summi clivi¹¹⁷.

6. quodsi non venter in vallibus factus fuerit nec substructum ad libram factum, sed geniculus erit, erumpet et dissolvit fistularum commissuras¹¹⁸, etiam in ventre colliquiaria¹¹⁹ sunt facienda, per quae vis spiritus relaxetur. ita per fistulas plumbeas aquam qui ducent, his rationibus bellissime poterunt efficere, quod et decursus et circumductiones et ventres et expressus¹²⁰ hac ratione possunt fieri, cum habebunt a capitibus ad moenia fastigii¹²¹ libramenta.

7. item inter actus ducentos non est inutile castella conlocari, ut, si quando vitium aliqui¹²² locus fecerit, non totum omneque opus contundatur et, in quibus locis sit factum, facilius inveniatur; sed ea castella neque in decursu neque in ventris planitia neque in expressionibus neque omnino in vallibus, sed in perpetua <fiant>¹²³ aequalitate.

8. Sin autem minore sumptu voluerimus, sic est faciendum¹²⁴. tubuli crasso corio ne minus duorum digitorum fiant, sed ita¹²⁵ hi tubuli ex una parte sint lingulati, ut alius in alium inire convenireque possint. coagmenta autem eorum calce viva ex oleo subacta sunt inlinianda, et in declinationibus libramenti ventris lapis est ex saxo rubro in ipso geniculo conlocandus isque perterebratus, uti ex decursu tubulus novissimus in lapide coagmentetur et primus [ex]¹²⁶ librati ventris; ad eundem modum adversum clivum et novissimus¹²⁷ librati ventris in cavo saxi rubri haereat et primus expressionis ad eundem modum coagmentetur.

9. ita librata planitia tubulorum ad¹²⁸ decursus et¹²⁹ expressiones¹³⁰ non extolletur. namque vehemens spiritus in aquae ductione solet¹³¹ nasci, ita¹³² ut etiam saxa perrumpat, nisi primum leniter et parce a capite aqua inmittatur et in geniculis aut versuris alligationibus aut pondere saburra contineatur. reliqua omnia uti fistulis plumbeis ita sunt conlocanda. item cum primo aqua a capite inmittitur, ante favilla inmittetur, uti coagmenta, si qua sunt non satis oblita, favilla oblinantur¹³³.

¹¹⁴ libramentum *Joc*: librati *x*

¹¹⁵ coelian *H*, celian *G*

¹¹⁶ *add. Ro*

¹¹⁷ clivi *G*: clevis *x*

¹¹⁸ commissuras *rec*: commixturas *x*

¹¹⁹ colliquiaria *Gundermann*: colliviaria *x*

¹²⁰ expressus *ed*: -sis *x*

¹²¹ fastigii *ed*: adfastigii (*cum ad add.*) *x*

¹²² aliquis *S*

¹²³ *add. Joc*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baines, W.D./D.L. Wilkinson 1986, The motion of large air bubbles in ducts of moderate slope, *Journal of Hydraulic Research* 25, 157-169.
- Best, C.H./N.B. Tabor 1966, *The physiological basis of medical practise*, Baltimore.
- Blackman, D.R./Y. Peleg 2001, Two sets of technical comments on P. Kessener, 'The aqueduct at Aspendos', *JRA* 14, 411-414.
- Burdy, J. 1991, *L'Aqueduc Romain de l'Yzeron*, Lyon.
- Burdy, J. 1998, Une contrainte topographique majeure, *Archeologia* 343, March, fiche supplémentaire.
- Burdy, J./A. Cochet 1992, Une date consulaire (213 après J.-C.) sur un tuyau de plomb viennois, *Gallia* 49, 89-97.
- Callebat, L. 1973, *Vitruve de l'Architecture*, livre VIII, Paris.
- Çeçen, K. 1996, *The longest Roman Water Supply Line*, Istanbul.
- Choisy, A. 1971, *Vitruve*, Paris.
- Corcos, G. 1989, *Air in Water Pipes*, Berkeley.
- Fahlbusch, H. 1982, Vergleich antiker griechischer und römischer Wasserversorgungsanlagen, *Mitt. des Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau*, Heft 73.
- Fahlbusch, H./J. Peleg 1992, Die Colliviaria Vitruvs, Möglichkeiten der Interpretation, *Mitt. des Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau*, Heft 117, 105-140.
- Falvey, H.T. 1980, *Air-Water flow in Hydraulic structures*, Engineering Monograph no. 41, Denver.
- Fensterbusch, C. 1964, *Vitruvii De Architectura Libri Decem*, Darmstadt.
- Garbrecht, G. 1978, Die Wasserversorgung des antiken Pergamon, die Druckleitung, *Mitt. des Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau*, Heft 60.
- Granger, F. 1962, *De Architectura*, London.
- Grewe, K. 1998, *Licht am Ende des Tunnels*, Mainz.
- Hansen, J. 1992, Die antike Wasserleitung unter der Rhone bei Arles. *Mitt. des Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau*, Heft 117, 470-531.
- Hodge, A. Trevor 1981, Vitruvius, Lead Pipes and Lead Poisoning, *AJA* 85, 486-491.
- Hodge, A. Trevor 1983, Siphons in Roman Aqueducts, *PBSR* 51, 174-221.
- Hodge, A. Trevor 1992, *Roman Aqueducts and Watersupply*, London.
- Hodge, A. Trevor 2000, Engineering works, in: *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (ed. Örjan Wikander), Leiden, 67-94.
- Kessener, H.P.M. 2000, The Aqueduct at Aspendos and its inverted siphon, *JRA* 13, 105-132.
- Kessener, H.P.M./S.A.G. Piras 1997, The pressure line of the Aspendos Aqueduct, *Adalya* 2, 159-187.

¹²⁴ est faciendum *HG*: erit faciendum *S*

¹²⁵ ita *Oehmichen*: uti *x*

¹²⁶ *del. Kr*

¹²⁷ novissimū *S*

¹²⁸ ad *Mar*: aut *HSG*: ut *G*

¹²⁹ et *om. S*

¹³⁰ expr(a)essionis *x*

¹³¹ solet *S*: solent *HG*

¹³² uti *S*

¹³³ oblinantur *ed*: -nentur *x*

- Knauss, J. 1983, Wirbelbildung an Einlaufwerken - Luft- und Dralleintrag, *DWK Schriften* 63, Bonn.
- König, R. 1994, *C. Plinius Secundus d.A., Naturkunde, Buch XXXI*, Zürich.
- Lewis, M. 1999, Vitruvius and Greek Aqueducts, *PBSR* 67, 145-172.
- Lewis, M. 2000, Theoretical Hydraulics, Automata, and Water Clocks, in: *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (ed. Örjan Wikander), Leiden, 343-370.
- Lewis, Ch.T./Ch. Short 1927, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford.
- Malinowski, R. 1979, Concretes and Mortars in Ancient Aqueducts, *Concrete International*, January 1979, 66-75.
- Malinowski, R. 1996, Dichtungsmörtel und Betone in der Antike, in: *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on the History of Watermanagement and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region*, N. de Haan and G. Jansen (ed.), Leiden.
- Morgan, H. 1960, *Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture*, New York.
- Ohlig, C. 2000, *De Aquis Pompeiorum*, thesis, Nijmegen.
- Plommer, H. 1973, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals*, Cambridge.
- Smith, N.A.F. 1976, Attitudes to Roman Engineering and the question of the Inverted Siphon, in: *History of Technology*, I, London, 45-71.
- Stenton, E.C./J.J. Coulton 1986, Oinoanda: The Watersupply and Aqueduct, *Anatolian Studies* 36, 15-59.
- Tölle-Kastenbein, R. 1991, Entlüftung antiker Wasserleitungsrohre, *AA* 25-30.
- Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem*, ed. F. Krohn, Leipzig 1912.
- Weber, G. 1898, Die Hochdruck-Wasserleitung von Laodikeia ad Lycum, *Jdl* 13, 1-13.
- Weber, G. 1899, Die Wasserleitungen von Smyrna, *Jdl* 14, 4-24.

Mourir et ressusciter*

Un *monosandalos* Gallo-Romain et ses successeurs

Une représentation unique dans une série unique accompagnée et soutenue par des motifs de nature variable

Eliz. P. de Loos-Dietz

INTRODUCTION

A deux reprises, j'ai précédemment consacré une étude à des *monosandaloi*, que ce soit dans l'Antiquité ou au Moyen Âge. Dans les deux cas, il s'agissait de personnages de mythes et de légendes ou de figures chargées d'une signification allégorique ou religieuse.¹

Cette fois, je me propose d'étudier l'effigie d'une personne bien réelle, un certain Belliccus, représenté en *monosandalos* sur son monument funéraire. Ceci nous amène d'emblée à conclure que la signification du port d'une chaussure unique faisait partie du patrimoine idéal universel. Nous le savions en fin de compte déjà puisque le motif, tout comme la claudication ou le fait d'être blessé à un pied, a persisté au fil des siècles et dans différentes régions. Il est une illustration d'un «rite de passage», d'un déséquilibre lors de la transition d'un état à un autre. Mais, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les personnages considérés jusqu'à présent étaient toujours des figures imaginaires. Aujourd'hui, nous avons pour la première fois affaire à une preuve «vivante», bien qu'elle se trouve sur le monument funéraire de quelqu'un qui fut autrefois un homme de chair et de sang. La question est : y a-t-il une différence de signification entre un *monosandalos* historique et un *monosandalos* imaginaire?

A vrai dire, il n'est pas tout à fait correct de prétendre que Belliccus est le premier *monosandalos* historique que nous connaissons. Il existe en effet un autre exemple, et ce au XIV^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ. En dépit de – ou peut-être justement à cause de – l'énorme intervalle de temps qui sépare ces deux occurrences d'une même donnée, cela vaut la peine de s'arrêter d'abord sur la première d'entre elles. Il s'agit de deux êtres qui furent vivants autrefois, le pharaon Toutânkhamon et son épouse Ankhésenamou. La représentation se trouve sur un trône doré dans la tombe du pharaon (Fig. 1).² A première vue, on aurait tendance à voir une analogie avec Belliccus, les trois personnages étant représentés dans un «rite de passage» vers l'autre monde, quelle

que soit l'image de cet autre monde que l'on pouvait se faire à l'époque. Mais, à y regarder de plus près, on se heurte à des arguments incontournables qui viennent réfuter une telle explication.

Un argument de nature très générale consiste à dire que l'on devrait alors trouver des représentations analogues du passage vers l'autre monde dans les tombes d'autres pharaons, ce qui n'est pas le cas. Il existe quand même une objection absolue, à savoir qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un siège funéraire, car aucun des deux personnages n'était décédé au moment de son exécution. Je dois cette information au Prof. Dr. M. Heerma van Voss, qui a eu la gentillesse de me signaler que le nom de Toutânkhamon n'est ni suivi de *m3^c hrw*, «vrai de voix» – plus ou moins l'équivalent de «bienheureux» – ni précédé de «l'Osiris» dans le sens de «feu» le pharaon.³ On sait qu'Ankhésenamou a survécu à Toutânkhamon.⁴ Pour

* Madame C. Warnant s'est chargée de la traduction du texte néerlandais en français. Je la remercie de son attention dévouée. Je remercie également les musées et instituts suivants, qui ont eu l'amabilité de me procurer des photos : Musée Gallo-Romain, Sens, J.P. Elis, 90-IX, (fig. 2), Musée d'Histoire de Berne, (fig. 3), British Museum, (fig. 5, 6, 7), Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Bruxelles (fig. 8), Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, (fig. 10, 11, 12, 13), Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, (fig. 14, 15), Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, (fig. 16), The Art Museum Princeton University, (fig. 17), Stedelijk Museum Leuven, (fig. 18), Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cabinet des Estampes, Bruxelles (fig. 19, 20).

¹ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 175-194; eadem, 1998, 152-175.

² Musée du Caire; Inv. n. J.E. 62028; Seton-Williams M.V., 1980, 128, fig. 76 et 175/6, fig. 122; je suis reconnaissante à feu madame M. Adams-Klatser d'avoir attiré mon attention sur cette représentation.

³ Je remercie le prof. Heerma van Voss également pour sa référence au livre de madame Seton-Williams 1980 à propos du contenu de la tombe.

⁴ Capart J., 1950, 71, 122, fig. 34; Seton-Williams M.V., 1980, 21, 22; le nom, Ankhésenamou, a été associé à celui d'Ay, le successeur de Toutânkhamon, quel que puisse avoir été ce lien. Gabolde M., 1998, 207/8.

Reste encore la question de savoir qui a écrit la fameuse lettre au roi des Hittites, Souppiloulouma, pour lui demander de lui envoyer un fils comme nouvel époux après la mort de son conjoint afin d'assurer sa descendance. On a supposé qu'il s'agissait d'Ankhésenamou, Seton-Williams M.V., 1980, 21, 22. Le



Fig. 1. Trône doré, Musée du Caire, Inv. n. J.E. 6208, détail.

tous les deux, il ne s'agissait donc en aucun cas d'un «rite de passage» vers l'autre monde.

Quel passage représentaient-ils donc ? En tout cas, c'était un passage qui leur était propre et ne concernait pas les autres pharaons. A ma connaissance, le motif n'apparaît nulle part ailleurs dans l'art égyptien. Ceci nécessite une étude plus approfondie.

La représentation se trouve sur la face intérieure du panneau arrière du dossier d'un trône doré. Toutânkhamon est assis nonchalamment sur un siège, tandis qu'Ankhésenamou se tient debout devant lui. Elle tend la main droite pour l'oindre. Il porte uniquement une sandale au pied gauche; elle, placée un peu plus bas, uniquement au pied droit. Les sandales forment ainsi une paire, ce qui est un signe d'union.⁵ Entre les deux personnages tombent des rayons solaires dotés de petites mains. Nous approchons ainsi de la solution du problème. La réponse se cache en effet dans la différence entre la face avant et

la face arrière du panneau du dossier. Sur la face arrière, tous deux sont encore, d'après madame M.V. Seton-Williams, désignés par les noms de Toutânkhaton et Ankhésenpaaton; sur la face intérieure, par contre, ils sont appelés par leurs nouveaux noms après leur retour au culte d'Amon, avec encore un souvenir de la période amarnienne vu les rayons solaires aux petites mains qui continuent d'accompagner la représentation et vu le caractère intime de la scène dans un environnement ressemblant à un palais.⁶

fil en question, Zannanza, fut assassiné en Egypte. Gabolde M., 1998, 187-212, 287 sq., juge plus plausible que l'auteur de la lettre ait été Merytaton, la sœur aînée de Toutânkhamon qui précéda celui-ci sur le trône. Elle aurait été unie à son père Akhnaton dans un mariage blanc.

⁵ Voir également, Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1998, 165.

⁶ Une représentation presque identique de Toutânkhamon et Ankhésenamou figure sur un petit reliquaire avec bas-relief qui se trouve également dans la tombe de Toutânkhamon. L'exécu-

A l'évidence, le «rite de passage» se rapporte ici au retour officiel au culte d'Amon, officiel parce qu'il est représenté sur la face intérieure du trône. Ce qui figure sur la face arrière du trône est passé. Il est étonnant que le thème du *monosandalos* fût manifestement déjà bien connu peu avant 1323 av. J.-C., année approximative du décès de Toutânkhamon, et qu'il ait été développé avec une telle pureté dès cette époque. C'est une référence en image extrêmement subtile à un événement très important, laquelle était passée inaperçue jusqu'à présent. Cela explique aussi pourquoi, dans les représentations d'autres pharaons, ceux-ci n'apparaissent pas en *monosandalos*. Ce détail a également échappé à l'attention du Dr. M. Gabolde lorsqu'il signale que le trône doré est le seul objet dans la tombe de Toutânkhamon sur lequel ses deux noms sont indiqués.⁷ Il cherche toutes sortes d'explications à ce phénomène, parlant entre autres de corrections ultérieures ou d'usurpation, mais le fait (non remarqué jusqu'à présent) que les deux personnages ne portent chacun qu'une seule sandale reste ainsi inexpliqué. En outre, les allégations avancées à propos d'une éventuelle correction ultérieure ne peuvent pas s'appliquer à la présence d'une sandale unique.

Gabolde signale que la religion d'Aton avait déjà pris fin avant l'avènement de Toutânkhamon.⁸ Il suppose qu'il a dû y avoir une nécessité impérieuse pour que Toutânkhamon s'assoie sur le siège de son père Akhnaton lors de son intronisation. Cette nécessité aurait été d'effacer pour ainsi dire le règne de sa sœur Merytaton après la mort d'Akhnaton. Mais aller jusqu'à supposer que le propre trône d'Akhnaton ait pu être adapté à Toutânkhamon en sa qualité de nouveau pharaon me semble exagéré et erroné.

Gabolde donne au demeurant lui-même une possible reconstruction des événements. C'est seulement en tant que disciple d'Aton, donc en tant que Toutânkhamon, que Toutânkhamon a pu, en faisant abstraction du court règne de sa sœur Merytaton, être le successeur reconnu de son père Akhnaton. Mais plus tard, celui-ci et sa religion furent oubliés et Toutânkhamon se considéra comme le descendant d'Amenhotep III. En tant que *monosandalos*, il sort résolument de la période amarnienne.

Quittons maintenant le domaine des arts plastiques pour celui de l'écrit, où nous trouvons également un personnage historique qui a perdu une chaussure à un moment crucial de sa vie.⁹ Il s'agit d'Othon dans sa lutte contre Galba. Suétone raconte qu'au moment précis où il perdit sa chaussure en courant, ses soldats le portèrent en triomphe sur leurs épaules et le proclamèrent empereur. Je suppose que cette histoire de chaussure perdue n'est pas un fait véridique mais

un détail pittoresque ajouté par Suétone pour mettre en évidence le «rite de passage» d'Othon qui, de chef militaire qu'il était, devient empereur.

La chaussure unique n'est toutefois pas le seul élément qui intervient ici. Un autre motif vient s'y adjoindre, à savoir la hâte. La hâte, l'empressement, signifie en fait une forme de dépassement du temps. Elle se rattache au thème du choix du bon moment.¹⁰ La hâte, associée à un *monosandalos*, peut revêtir deux aspects. Il peut s'agir du départ précipité d'une personne qui était en train de s'habiller, et qui n'a donc pas le temps d'enfiler sa deuxième chaussure. C'est entre autres l'histoire de Sémiramis.¹¹ A l'époque romaine en tout cas, l'usage voulait que l'on mît toujours la chaussure droite en premier lieu, de la même manière que l'on faisait toujours le premier pas du pied droit.¹² Dans ce cas-là, un *monosandalos* était donc toujours chaussé à droite. Mais lorsqu'une personne perdait une chaussure en courant, cette règle n'était pas d'application. Un bel exemple de perte d'une chaussure dans la hâte nous est donné par Achille quittant brusquement le gynécée à la cour de Diomède à Scyros.¹³ Autre exemple, tiré d'un conte cette fois : le départ précipité de Cendrillon fuyant le bal juste avant minuit, heure à laquelle le charme menace de se rompre. Ici, le bon moment, clairement indiqué, joue un rôle. Le bon moment est le passage symbolique du jour à la nuit, le moment où le temps s'arrête un instant. Dans le cas du personnage historique d'Othon *monosandalos*, ce sont donc des concepts bien différents de ceux de la représentation de Toutânkhamon qui

tion est toutefois beaucoup moins soignée, tandis que les rayons solaires et le détail de la sandale unique sont absents; Seton-Williams M.V., 1980, 120, 122, fig. 70.

⁷ Gabolde M., 1998, 291/2.

⁸ Eliade M., 1974, 28; Gabolde M., 1998, 292 sq.

⁹ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 193, la perte d'une chaussure marque une *separatio*, une rupture avec la situation antérieure; Capdeville G., 1995, 56, n. 63 avec le texte de Suétone (*Oth.* 6, 6): Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in castra contendit ac deficientibus iecticaris cum descendisset cursumque cepisset laxato calceo restitit, donec ommissa mora succollatus et a praesente comitatu imperator consalutatus inter faustas acclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit, obuius quoque non aliter ac si conscius et particeps foret adhaerente.

¹⁰ Eliade M., 1991, 83-84.

¹¹ Weisbach W., 1942, 113. Il renvoie également au tableau de P. Bruegel l'Ancien du Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Staatliche Museen) de Berlin qui illustre des proverbes. Un *monosandalos* aux yeux bandés qui fonce dans un mur représente le proverbe: «Plus on se hâte, moins on avance.»; Bruneau Ph., 1982, 152; le rapide messager Mercure a aussi été représenté en *monosandalos*, Weisbach W., 1942, 116; Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 183, fig. 4.

¹² Deonna W., 1935, 72; Forcellini A., I, 1940, 492, *sub calceus*; l'empereur Auguste considérait comme un mauvais présage le fait d'enfiler malencontreusement sa chaussure gauche au pied droit en s'habillant, Suétone C., Liber II, Cap.; Dunbabin M.D., 1990, 105 sq., n. 93-99.

¹³ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 179 sq., fig. 3.



Fig. 2. Stèle funéraire de Bellicus, Musée Gallo-Romain, Sens.

interviennent dans le récit, à savoir une promotion sociale – le passage du statut de chef militaire à celui d'empereur – et le phénomène de la hâte.

Voilà pourquoi le sujet du *monosandalos* demeure tellement passionnant: il faut chaque fois de nouveau chercher, à travers les motifs qui accompagnent sa représentation, l'arrière-plan du sujet, qu'il s'agisse d'un personnage réel ou imaginaire. Ce n'est pas le *monosandalos* en soi qui est important, mais le message qu'il véhicule, en fonction du lieu et de l'époque auxquels il appartient. Il s'agit toujours de sa «couleur locale».¹⁴ Celle-ci ouvre sans cesse des perspectives différentes. Ceci reste un fil conducteur pour toute nouvelle recherche.

En partant de la preuve obtenue ci-dessus que ce qui s'applique aux personnages imaginaires *monosandaloi* est également valable pour les personnages historiques *monosandaloi*, à savoir qu'ils se trouvent dans un «rite de passage», vers quelque lieu ou état que ce soit, nous pouvons à présent entamer tranquillement l'étude de la stèle funéraire de Belliccus.

CHAPITRE I

D(iis) M(anibus)

MEMOR(iae) BELLICCI BELLATOR [is (filii)]

Tel est le texte des inscriptions, complétées par E. Babelon, qui figurent sur la stèle funéraire d'un certain Belliccus au Musée Gallo-Romain (Inv. J 79) de Sens (Fig. 2). Les dimensions du monument sont: hauteur 0,98 m, largeur 0,50 m, épaisseur 0,39 m. Le matériau est de la pierre.¹⁵

Ce monument funéraire est consacré à la mémoire d'un soldat mort (jeune), c'est-à-dire du fils (appartenant à la guerre) d'un militaire.¹⁶ Le personnage sur la stèle n'est toutefois pas représenté en soldat, bien au contraire. Il est entouré d'attributs complètement différents. Ni bouclier ni arme ne renvoient à son statut militaire. Une description précise est dès lors nécessaire.

Une petite silhouette en haut relief se tient debout, presque de face, dans une niche relativement profonde. La niche est délimitée verticalement par deux pilastres lisses dotés d'une base et d'un chapiteau également lisses. L'inscription dédiée à Belliccus figure sur le bord rond de la niche. Les lettres D et M se trouvent sur les acrotères. Ces acrotères sont chacun découpés verticalement du côté extérieur – presque dans la ligne des pilastres – tandis que, du côté intérieur, ils dessinent une ligne courbée vers l'extérieur de sorte qu'ils se terminent en une pointe tournée vers le haut et vers l'extérieur.

Le personnage se tient sur la base, légèrement décentré. Son côté droit se trouve plus près du pilastre. Un espace est ainsi dégagé de son côté gauche pour une console contre le pilastre. Sa tête figure par contre bien au centre, en dessous de l'arc de la niche, à hauteur des chapiteaux. L'axe vertical de son corps n'est donc pas d'aplomb.

Ses pieds sont disposés avec les pointes écartées en oblique, les talons légèrement disjoints. Seul son pied droit porte une chaussure. À côté de ses pieds, nous voyons, à droite et à gauche, la partie antérieure d'un chien et d'un lièvre ou d'un lapin. L'animal de son côté droit est petit, presque de face et recroquevillé sur lui-même, coincé entre la chaussure et la base du pilastre. Ses pattes sont croisées l'une sur l'autre. L'animal de son côté gauche a beaucoup plus de place. Il se tient de profil, dressé sur ses pattes de devant.

Belliccus est revêtu d'une ample robe flottante, sans fibule, avec de très larges manches. Les plis de la robe tombent plus ou moins droit vers le bas, sauf de son épaule gauche où ils dessinent un V. C'est parce que l'épaule gauche est plus tournée vers l'arrière, de sorte que l'encolure a un peu glissé.

Dans sa main droite levée, il tient un marteau devant sa poitrine. Dans sa main gauche baissée, qui pend à côté de son corps, il a une barre qui repose sur une enclume. Celle-ci se trouve sur la console contre le pilastre. C'est donc comme s'il était occupé à frapper sur la barre avec le marteau. Cela veut dire qu'il est en train de forger, peut-être une arme. Aucun feu n'est toutefois représenté. Par contre, une pince et un tisonnier, peu fréquents, sont gravés de part et d'autre de la tête à l'arrière-plan.¹⁷

La tête est anormalement grosse. Elle est tournée aux 7/8 dans la même direction que le corps, c'est-à-dire avec le côté gauche un peu vers l'arrière. Cette légère torsion de la silhouette ainsi que la disposition hors d'aplomb à peine perceptible du personnage sont des mouvements subtils qui permet-

¹⁴ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 195.

¹⁵ Esperandieu E., 1911, IV, 12/13, No. 2769, avec litt.; Deonna W., 1935, 63, 70; Adhémar J., 1939, 253, n. 1; Duval P.M., 1953, 53, 55/6; Nerzic Ch., 1989, 164/5.

¹⁶ Sur l'arc de la niche, on trouve à gauche le mot MEMOR composé de caractères largement espacés, au milieu au-dessus de la tête le mot BELLICCI composé de caractères très serrés, puis le mot BELLATOR (l'inscription est endommagée après le R) à nouveau composé de caractères largement espacés. Dans la transcription d'Esperandieu, il manque un L à BELLICCI; BELLICUS peut apparaître en tant qu'adjectif et en tant que substantif. En tant qu'adjectif, il a une forme plus ancienne, «*duellicus*». Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, 1902-04, Vol. II, 1810/13, Forcellini A., Vol. I, 1940, 434; BELLATOR est une autre forme de «*duellator*». Il peut aussi être utilisé comme cognomen et comme nom d'un dieu, Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, 1902-04, Vol. II, 1805-1807, Forcellini A., 1940, Vol. I, 433/4, Forcellini A., 1913, Onomasticon, Vol. I, 254.

¹⁷ Schober A., 1923, 177.

tent d'éviter toute rigidité. Ceci est le signe d'une exécution particulièrement soignée. Sous l'effet de la torsion, l'oreille droite de Belliccus est légèrement tournée vers l'avant. A côté d'elle pend une longue mèche de cheveux. Pour le reste, il porte une coupe très courte.

En résumé, nous constatons que le défunt n'est pas du tout représenté ici comme un militaire, ce que nous observons pourtant sur d'autres stèles funéraires romaines où figurent des armes ou un valet avec un cheval. Le défunt était peut-être encore trop jeune pour pouvoir manier les armes, a fortiori pour être un cavalier et, vu son jeune âge, il n'avait pas encore droit à cette marque d'honneur sur sa stèle funéraire. Peut-être aurait-il dû d'abord encore forger son arme avant de pouvoir en utiliser une? Ce ne sont toutefois que des suppositions. Nous devons revenir aux faits et distinguer clairement ce qui est bel et bien indiqué pour arriver à comprendre le message qui a jadis été transmis en image. A cet effet, nous devons résumer et étudier séparément les principaux points. Ce sont les éléments suivants.

1. Il est revêtu d'un ample manteau uni.
2. Il porte seulement une chaussure au pied droit.
3. Il se tient debout entre un chien et un lièvre.
4. Il est représenté tel un forgeron en action. Des attributs d'une forge sont de surcroît présents à l'arrière-plan de la niche.
5. Sa coiffure se compose de cheveux coupés court avec une longue mèche derrière l'oreille droite.

1. LA TENUE VESTIMENTAIRE

Il s'avère qu'un ample manteau à larges manches était une tenue vestimentaire spéciale, liée au lieu et au temps, pour les citoyens de la période gallo-romaine.¹⁸ Cela indique que le sculpteur devait être un artisan local. Et surtout, la tenue vestimentaire qualifie le défunt en tant que citoyen. Voir le point 5. LA COIFFURE DE BELLICCUS, ci-dessous.

2. BELLICCUS EST UN *MONOSANDALOS*

En revanche, le port d'une chaussure unique ne renvoie pas à un costume temporel reconnu autrefois. Il transmet un message symbolique, à savoir que la personne en question se trouve dans un état de transition. Cela n'a rien de surprenant sur une stèle funéraire.

Je n'en connais toutefois pas d'autres exemples sur des monuments funéraires. Seul S. Reinach a fait référence en 1894 (sans autre indication) à deux stèles funéraires à Sens avec un *monosandalos*.¹⁹

J'ignore en outre où se trouve cette deuxième stèle. A cette même occasion, Reinach a fait mention de peuples guerriers de l'Antiquité grecque tels que les Etoliens, les Platéens et les Herniques, dont il était dit dans la littérature qu'ils ne portaient qu'une chaussure ou qu'une jambière.

Tous les auteurs qui se sont intéressés depuis lors au problème de la signification d'un *monosandalos* renvoient au commentaire de ce phénomène par les écrivains de l'Antiquité.²⁰ Parmi ces auteurs, il y a aussi le professeur Ph. Bruneau, qui a démasqué avec tant de lucidité le fameux «Ares Borghese» du Musée du Louvre comme étant un *monosandalos*, un guerrier, quelle que soit la statue dont il est la copie, avec un seul pied chaussé, le droit.²¹

Nous pouvons relever ici une analogie avec Belliccus. Dans les deux cas, c'est le pied droit qui porte une chaussure. Deonna a indiqué que le pied gauche est le pied néfaste et que c'est lui par conséquent qui est dénudé dans les représentations à caractère funéraire.²²

Reste à expliquer pourquoi des guerriers ont été représentés ou décrits comme des *monosandaloi*. Les explications pratiques du genre «ils peuvent courir plus vite» ne tiennent pas debout selon moi. Trop souvent déjà, nous avons dû constater qu'il s'agit d'une symbolique qui désigne un «rite de passage». Un soldat est un être condamné à mort ou, si on veut, dédié à la mort. Tôt ou tard, il périt au combat, alors qu'il est encore dans la force de l'âge.

A quoi ceci nous mène-t-il dans le cas de Belliccus? A-t-il péri au combat? Est-il simplement mort jeune? Etait-il impliqué dans un processus initiatique devant faire de l'adolescent qu'il était un homme prêt à combattre? Personne ne peut répondre avec certitude à cette question. Peut-être chacun de ces éléments intervient-il, comme dans le cas d'Achille *monosandalos* lors de sa découverte à Scyros. Il parcourt à toute vitesse l'initiation d'adolescent caché (le stade préliminaire d'un «rite de passage») à guerrier et est par là devenu un condamné à mort. Seulement, dans sa hâte, il perd sa chaussure droite.²³

Dans le cas de l'«Ares Borghese» comme dans celui de Belliccus, il n'est pas question de hâte. Chez eux, c'est le caractère funéraire qui domine.

¹⁸ Walter H., 1974, 144.

¹⁹ Reinach S., 1894, 65/6; Deonna W., 1935, 63.

²⁰ Brelich A., 1955-57, 473 sq.; Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 183 avec litt.

²¹ Bruneau Ph., 1980, 194-198; Bruneau Ph., 1987, 152 (Je viens d'apprendre, à mon grand regret, le décès de ce savant éminent); Je me demande si les deux animaux sur le casque peuvent représenter un chien et un lièvre.

²² Deonna W., 1935, 72.

²³ Voir page 185.

3. BELLICUS SE TIENT DEBOUT ENTRE UN CHIEN ET UN LIEVRE

La présence de ces animaux attire l'attention et nécessite une explication. Bien qu'ils soient disposés ici indépendamment l'un de l'autre, ils sont, en compagnie l'un de l'autre, les représentants d'un motif fixe: la chasse au lièvre menée par le chien, le cas échéant la chasse au petit gibier menée par le gros gibier. Cette chasse peut se présenter soit sous la forme d'une poursuite, soit au moment de l'étreinte de la mort.²⁴ C'est un thème extrêmement persistant qui, au cours des siècles, a été sans cesse réinventé et traité dans tous les matériaux. Nous rencontrons de surcroît l'évocation de la notion de «chasse» sous toutes sortes de formes, avec différents animaux, jusqu'à des créatures mystiques comme les griffons, et parfois en combinaison avec des êtres humains.

Ceci met en lumière une signification spéciale du phénomène de la chasse, qui va bien au-delà du besoin quotidien élémentaire de nourriture pour survivre ou, dans un développement ultérieur, à la plus grande gloire du chasseur ou encore comme élément d'un processus d'initiation de l'adolescent à la vie adulte.²⁵ Il n'est pas étonnant que, dans les temps les plus reculés, on ait choisi l'image de la chasse pour exprimer les notions de mort et de résurrection. En effet, dans la nature, la chasse était un phénomène sans cesse récurrent. Toujours il y avait un poursuivant et toujours il y avait une proie. Ainsi la nature survivait-elle.

Une image très fréquente de la chasse était celle d'un lion terrassant un taureau. Pour mieux comprendre cette chasse et cette mise à mort, nous sommes obligés de faire une importante digression. Elle concerne un mythe animalier dont les racines remontent à la préhistoire.

W. Hartner et R.E. Ettinghausen ont expliqué que la mise à mort du taureau par le lion était un symbole astronomique aux environs de 4000 av. J.-C. à Persépolis, symbole basé sur le fait que la constellation du lion remplace celle du taureau jusqu'à ce que celle-ci réapparaisse après 40 jours.²⁶ Cette résurrection marque la principale des 4 dates intermédiaires de l'année. La première tombe en février, le début de l'année agraire. Suivant leur théorie, les auteurs mettent la victoire du lion sur un cerf sur le même plan que celle du lion sur le taureau. Ils développent l'image du lion victorieux pour en faire un symbole du pouvoir royal, avec comme exemple la mosaïque dans l'abside du Diwan du palais de Khirbat-Al-Mafjar, près de Jéricho. J'ai déjà contesté cette dernière théorie précédemment.²⁷

Les études de R. du Mesnil du Buisson revêtent par contre une importance beaucoup plus grande.²⁸ Il

constate qu'au milieu du III^e millénaire av. J.-C., il existait à Suse un mythe animalier en rapport avec les phases du cycle de la planète Vénus, tour à tour étoile du matin et étoile du soir. Je cite son bref résumé:

«...l'étoile du matin est un dieu-Lion qui parcourt le ciel. Il amène avec lui un dieu-Taureau (ou des dieux-Taureaux) qui symbolisent la chaleur du jour. Lorsque l'aurore commence à luire l'étoile disparaît ; c'est que le lion est tué. Le dieu du ciel symbolisé par un aigle a envoyé deux héros pour le mettre à mort. Le lion puni de son orgueil tombe dans les Enfers sous la terre. Pendant le jour le taureau ou les taureaux règnent seuls sur la terre des vivants; la chaleur qui les accompagne dessèche la végétation et provoque des famines et des épidémies (2). Après la tombée de la nuit, l'étoile du soir prend possession du ciel; c'est une déesse-Lionne, épouse du dieu-Lion. Dès qu'elle brille au firmament, la Déesse-Lionne prend en chasse le taureau du jour et le dévore. Elle est aidée dans la lutte par l'Aigle céleste. La Lionne amène avec elle un dieu-Antilope ou plutôt des dieux-Antilopes, qui symbolisent la fraîcheur de la nuit. Ces dieux régénèrent la végétation malmenée par les taureaux pendant le jour. Mais à l'aurore, ces derniers vont prendre possession du ciel, et nous assisterons à la mise à mort du dieu-Antilope dévoré par le lion de l'étoile du matin (*Fig. 1*). Le cercle se poursuit ainsi indéfiniment.»²⁹

Certes, au début du III^e millénaire, on a découvert que l'étoile du matin et l'étoile du soir sont deux aspects de la même planète Vénus, ce qui a entraîné une adaptation du récit. La différence lion-lionne a disparu, il s'agissait désormais d'un seul et même lion effectuant son voyage.³⁰

R. du Mesnil du Buisson explique que ce mythe animalier était connu et apprécié à Suse au III^e millénaire et que, dans l'art religieux, il était utilisé comme symbole du renouveau de la vie humaine après la mort. Il dit également que, dès la première moitié du IV^e millénaire, le mythe du lion tuant le taureau

²⁴ La battue où la bête poursuivie est capturée dans un filet a des origines particulières. Elle vient d'une aversion à verser le sang parce que celui-ci est le refuge de l'âme. Le chasseur doit maîtriser l'animal capturé à main nue pour prouver sa force et pour rester pur. Roux J.P., 1971, 194.

²⁵ Hatt J.J., 1970, 31 sq.; Roux J.P., 1971, 195.

²⁶ Hartner W. & R. Ettinghausen, 1964, 161-164.

²⁷ Hartner W. & R. Ettinghausen, 1964, 164-170; Ettinghausen R., 1972, 44 sq.; Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1990, 133-135.

²⁸ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1967-68, 10-36; 1968, 33-48; 1970, 7-29, 129-137.

²⁹ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1968, 33/34.

³⁰ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1970, 8 sq.



Fig.3. Hydria de Grächwil, Musée d'Histoire de Berne, Inv. 11620, détail.

était connu, mais que son origine remonte au V^e millénaire, à une région à l'est de la Mésopotamie. Au IV^e millénaire, il allait ensuite se répandre dans tout le Proche-Orient.³¹

Cela revient donc à dire que le lion du matin dévore l'antilope de la nuit et que le lion du soir dévore le taureau du jour. Le lion du matin est vaincu à son tour par deux héros, ce qui signifie que sa lumière s'estompe sous l'effet de la lumière du soleil levant.³²

Nous ne nous appesantirons pas sur le rôle de la déesse céleste, maîtresse des deux lions, de l'antilope, de l'eau et de la végétation. Nous devons néanmoins faire référence à une de ses représentations. Il s'agit de l'anse décorative d'une *hydria* de bronze de Grächwil (municipalité de Meikirch, canton de Berne, Suisse) (Fig. 3).³³ La déesse y est représentée tenant verticalement deux lièvres, reconnaiss-

ables à leurs longues oreilles et à leur courte queue, l'un la tête vers le haut, l'autre vers le bas. Ceux-ci occupent la place d'antilopes. Du Mesnil du Buisson explique cette variante iconographique à la lumière d'un texte de Ras Shamra. Je cite sa traduction.³⁴

«Le jeune lion aux sept filles emporte, fait disparaître le souffle des antilopes et des lièvres aux portes à deux battants de la maison d'Anat.»

³¹ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1968, 46-48.

³² Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1967/68, 15/6.

³³ Je remercie de tout cœur le Dr. K. Zimmerman qui a eu la gentillesse de m'envoyer une photo de l'*hydria* ainsi qu'une référence à la littérature la concernant: Frey L. et O.-H., 1998, 527-529, avec aperçu de la littérature antérieure. Manquent: Spiesz K. von, 1937, 248, Taf. I, 9, et Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1967/68, 22, fig. 10.

³⁴ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1967/68, 22 et 1970, 9 sq.



Fig. 4. Vase d'albâtre du tombeau de Toutânkhamon, dessins d'après des photos de H. Carter.

Il importe peu pour nous que du Mesnil du Buisson modifie une précédente traduction de sa main pour ce qui est du moment de l'action du lion qui, du crépuscule, passe à l'aube. Par contre, il est extrêmement important pour nous que, outre des antilopes, des lièvres soient mentionnés dans le texte.

Sur l'anse décorative de l'*hydria* de Grächwil, la déesse tient de la main droite les pattes avant d'un lièvre bondissant (arrivant) et de la main gauche les pattes arrière d'un lièvre pendant vers le bas (partant). Tous deux sont flanqués du côté extérieur d'un lion assis, se tournant vers eux, représenté de profil avec la tête de face. Le lion à côté du lièvre bondissant pose sa patte gauche sur le lièvre, l'autre pose sa patte droite sur le lièvre pendant vers le bas.

Dans le milieu de la chasse, on m'a assuré qu'un lièvre mort est toujours tenu par les pattes arrière, la tête en bas. La déesse tient donc manifestement un lièvre vivant et un lièvre mort. Je crois que nous pouvons considérer ceci comme une assurance que la chasse se poursuit toujours. Il y aura constamment un nouveau lièvre après la mort du précédent, ce qui veut dire qu'il ne s'agit pas de lièvres bien distincts mais de l'idée que représente le lièvre: la résurrection de la nature pendant la fraîcheur nocturne, après son agonie sous l'effet de la chaleur brûlante du jour. C'est un cycle. Résurrection et mort alternent sans cesse.³⁵

Du Mesnil du Buisson relève en outre la chose suivante.³⁶ Sur un vase d'albâtre dans le tombeau de Toutânkhamon figure une représentation d'un lion marqué d'une étoile attaquant un taureau. Une antilope et un lièvre apparaissent également, ce qui veut dire: la nuit approche. D'autre part, un chien avec un collier, donc en service, est représenté en train d'assister un lion lui aussi marqué d'une étoile pendant la mise à mort d'un taureau (Fig. 4). Le chien était un assistant habituel du dieu Ashtar et de la déesse Ashtart. A Ras Shamra, ceux-ci représentaient l'étoile du matin et l'étoile du soir.

A l'origine, il y avait une différence fondamentale entre la chasse au taureau et la chasse à l'antilope, le cas échéant à d'autres cervidés, menée par le lion.³⁷ En principe, nous pouvons mettre sur un pied

³⁵ Voir également: Spiesz K. von, 1937, 246.

³⁶ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1967/68, 22, 23, fig. 11, reprise ici; Virolleaud Ch., 1937, 86.

³⁷ Hartner W. et R. Ettinghausen, 1964, 164 ont en outre affirmé que le combat entre un lion et un taureau et celui entre un lion et un cerf avaient la même signification. La différence entre les deux ne m'était pas non plus apparue précédemment. Je pensais que la poursuite de lièvres par des chiens était une forme un peu plus intime de la chasse au gros gibier menée par un lion (Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1988, 153 sq.). Le sol en mosaïque datant de la fin du V^e ou du début du VI^e siècle dans le narthex de la grande basilique d'Heraclea Lyncestis (Bitola en république de Macédoine) devra certainement être réétudié à la lumière de la signification du combat entre les différents animaux (Cvetković-Tomašević G., 1967; 1971, 490; 1975, 243; 1975, 385-389). Au centre se trouve un médaillon avec des symboles chrétiens de la paix céleste, délimité de part et d'autre par le signe de la mort, un cyprès. Le reste de la frise est décoré d'images de la chasse tirées de l'ancien mythe animalier entre des arbres: à gauche une gazelle paradant dans un jardin d'agrément avec des lis sous un cèdre portant des fruits, un arbre de vie, caractérisé par son pied fendu (Strzygowski J., 1936, 118) comme étant l'arbre du paradis. Cette scène est suivie d'une confrontation entre un taureau et un lion. Un oiseau portant un ruban rouge entre les pattes descend vers le premier, tandis que le second saute entre les deux troncs d'un arbre portant des fruits, un autre arbre de vie. Tout à droite dans la frise, un chevreuil tué par un léopard gît, couché sur le dos. (Un léopard peut remplacer un chien de chasse, Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1970, 28.) A gauche de cette image, un chien est attaché à un arbre. Vient ensuite la zone gravement endommagée où subsistent des traces d'un arbre mort. Partout, des oiseaux, certains avec des rubans rouges entre les pattes, s'envolent des arbres.

Il est difficile de déterminer dans quelle(s) direction(s) cette frise doit être lue. Il n'empêche que nous pouvons supposer que l'assurance chrétienne de la résurrection après la mort donnée dans le médaillon central est ici renforcée par les images profanes de l'ancien mythe animalier qui sont porteuses d'un message analogue. Ces images étaient-elles destinées au peuple, qui ne comprenait peut-être pas encore la symbolique chrétienne, n'était pas encore familiarisé avec celle-ci? Bien que l'espace semble réduit, il se pourrait qu'à droite à côté du médaillon, dans

d'égalité la poursuite du lièvre par le chien et celle de l'antilope par le lion. Ce ne sont pas les animaux qui comptent, mais les valeurs qu'ils représentent, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut: la résurrection après la mort se répétant à l'infini. C'est une promesse dotée d'un sens *apotropaïque*. Ceci explique deux faits. Le premier est que nous rencontrons assez tôt les différentes chasses réunies; confer le fourreau en or du poignard de Toutânkhamon (Mus. Caire, 225). Des boucs et des taureaux sont attaqués par un léopard, des lions et des chiens. Ce poignard est marqué du nom de Toutânkhamon au moment de son intronisation, Nebkhéperouré, vers 1332.³⁸

Le deuxième fait est que nous trouvons des scènes de chasse sur des objets et à des endroits qui n'ont rien à voir avec la chasse. Que l'on fût ou non encore conscient de la signification première de la chasse, ce qui était manifestement important, c'était l'effet protecteur qui s'en dégageait. Ceci mérite notre attention et quelque illustration.

On trouve un bel exemple de cette valeur *apotropaïque* sur l'île de Théra. La fresque de la chambre 5 de la maison occidentale à Akrotiri, à son apogée un grand port de transit, est décorée d'une frise dans le haut. Celle-ci représente un paysage exotique traversé par une rivière sinueuse. Des scènes de chasse se déroulent sur ses rives. Non seulement un lion chasse des cerfs, mais un griffon poursuit aussi un grand félin bleu tacheté (d'étoiles?). Le griffon est un serviteur du ciel. Il se présente comme le tueur du lion du matin, mais il chasse aussi le taureau ou l'antilope en compagnie du lion.³⁹

La seule participation d'un griffon suffit à démontrer que nous n'avons pas affaire à une représentation naturelle. Avec ses affluents, la longue rivière «protège», comme dans une étreinte, une ville située plus bas. On pourrait dire qu'elle l'enlace. La ville s'étale au bord de l'eau. Des navires la quittent. La ville pourrait représenter Akrotiri et les navires transporteraient par conséquent des guerriers de Théra.⁴⁰

Dans la flotte sur le mur sud, un navire est beaucoup plus richement décoré que les autres. On dirait qu'il est pavoisé. Mais au lieu de petits pavillons, ce sont ici deux guirlandes dorées qui ont été hissées. Madame E.N. Davis suppose à juste titre que le personnage le plus important se trouve à bord de ce navire.

Or, un lion en chasse est représenté à l'avant et à l'arrière sur la paroi du navire. La proie n'est pas parfaitement identifiable. Un lion en pleine course, la gueule ouverte, figure également sur la proue et sur la poupe.⁴¹ Un lion analogue décore en outre la poupe de quelques autres navires (pour autant qu'on puisse distinguer). Puisqu'un lion n'a rien à voir avec la marine, ceci ne peut que vouloir dire que le motif a une signification particulière. Celle-ci ne peut être qu'*apotropaïque*. Le navire somptueuse-

ment pavoisé est protégé au maximum par quatre lions chasseurs. C'est donc à son bord que se trouve le personnage le plus important.

Pour étayer la thèse selon laquelle les scènes de chasse qui sont représentées en des lieux et/ou sur des objets qui n'ont en fait rien à voir avec la chasse étaient destinées à apporter une protection et que ces scènes sont basées sur l'ancien mythe animalier, je veux encore, en sus des représentations déjà mentionnées (celles sur le vase d'albâtre dans le tombeau de Toutânkhamon, sur la fresque dans la chambre 5 de la maison occidentale à Théra et sur l'*hydria* de Grächwil), citer deux exemples très éloignés l'un de l'autre dans le temps. Il s'agit d'une cruche au griffon d'Egine datant des environs de 660 avant J.-C. et d'un plat d'argent sassanide du V^e siècle après J.-C., tous deux au British Museum.

La cruche au griffon a une décoration extrêmement riche, figurée et géométrique (Fig. 5).⁴² Nous n'avons pas le temps de nous attarder sur la valeur *apotropaïque* propre de chaque partie. Nous nous limiterons donc à ce qui suit. Le bec ouvert, la tête et le cou du griffon forment le bec et le col de la cruche. De la tête pend à gauche et à droite une longue et fine tresse qui descend jusqu'en bas du cou. A l'avant du cou, des écailles sont représentées. Des rosettes, séparées par les tresses, sont en outre présentes. Au centre, au-dessus du ventre de la cruche, se trouve une métope avec la représentation d'un léopard tuant un cerf (Fig. 6). Sur les côtés latéraux, séparées par des motifs géométriques, nous découvrons deux métopes avec sur chacune un cheval tourné vers l'avant, en train de paître. En dessous des métopes, nous remarquons une décoration à motifs géométriques, une sorte de ruban enroulé en spirale, signe d'éternité parce qu'il n'a ni commencement ni fin, et signe d'eau, éventuellement de liquide amniotique. Le dessous du ventre de la cruche est orné de deux larges bords avec des motifs triangulaires travaillés. Le triangle est un signe de la vulve, donc de la fécondité.

la zone abîmée, il y ait eu une représentation de la mort du lion du matin, la seule image du mythe qui est manquante. Son assistant, le chien, est en effet attaché et impuissant. De plus, un arbre mort se dresse à cet endroit.

Par comparaison avec la mosaïque dans l'abside du Diwan du palais de Khirbat Al-Mafjar à Jéricho, où la mort est représentée à droite de l'arbre de vie et la béatitude à gauche, on pourrait imaginer la même disposition sur la frise de Bitola, de part et d'autre du médaillon (Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1988, 157; idem, 1990, 133 sq., fig. 10). Ceci reste hypothétique.

³⁸ Catalogue 1967, No. 9, 94, Pl. 97.

³⁹ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1970, 29, 129/130.

⁴⁰ Davis E.N., 1983, 3-14; Marinatos N., 1984, 44/45, fig. 25, 54/55, fig. 34. Les animaux chasseurs sont à mon avis interprétés à tort comme une image d'agression; Doumas Ch., 1992, fig. 30-36; Ekschmitt W., 1993, Taf. 38 et Taf. 45.

⁴¹ Doumas Ch., 1992, fig. 36.

⁴² Ekschmitt W., 1993, 185 sq., Taf. 52, Abb. 85 a/b.



Fig. 5. Cruche au griffon d'Egine, Inv. B.M. A 547, copyright British Museum.



Fig. 6. Cruche au griffon d'Egine, Inv. B.M. A 547, copyright British Museum, détail.



Fig. 7. Plat sassanide, copyright British Museum, Inv. 124092, photographie B. Winter.

Nous savons que le griffon est un assistant de la déesse céleste qui tue le lion du matin. L'aigle, représentant de la déesse céleste, apporte l'éternité en la figure d'un serpent (Nous reviendrons encore à ce motif). C'est ainsi que la représentation d'écailles aux endroits les plus divers reste à travers les siècles un signe d'immortalité.⁴³ Une rosette est souvent apposée comme signe d'une étoile, ce qui renvoie à un événement astronomique. J'insiste aussi sur la présence des longues tresses.⁴⁴ Nous trouvons donc de nombreux éléments de l'ancien mythe animalier rassemblés sur cette cruche: le léopard qui tue un cerf, le griffon, le serpent, les étoiles. Ils renvoient à l'alternance à l'infini d'un événement astronomique qui assure l'immortalité, la plus grande protection que l'on puisse souhaiter.⁴⁵ Les autres motifs sur la cruche concordent avec ce caractère *apotropaïque*.

Le plat sassanide entretient d'une autre manière un rapport avec le mythe animalier, mais ici aussi dans le sens *apotropaïque* (Fig. 7).⁴⁶ Il s'agit d'un détail

qui, selon moi, a été mal interprété jusqu'à présent. Le plat en question, qui se trouve au British Museum (Inv. BM 124092) fait partie d'une série de plats

⁴³ Voir note 54.

⁴⁴ Deonna W., 1953, 75/6 : «...Danseurs et danseuses portent en effet souvent dans les cérémonies de l'Égypte, surtout funéraires, des coiffures caractéristiques, une ou deux longues tresses terminées par des boules...». Ceci pourrait indiquer que la cruche fut utilisée lors d'une cérémonie funéraire.

⁴⁵ Il peut paraître étrange de rencontrer des scènes de chasse sur des cruches, mais les choses deviennent claires lorsque l'on sait que le contenu de la cruche doit être garanti parfaitement pur et en tout cas exempt de poison. Cela vaut la peine de réexaminer sous cet éclairage les illustrations sur les cruches d'argent du trésor de Rogozen (Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford L., 1989, 25 sq.; Nikolov B., 1989, 17 sq.; Fol A., 1989, 43 sq.; Mazarov I., 1989, 31 sq.; Pour la coutume qui consistait à enterrer et retrouver chaque fois un trésor comme image de la répétition cyclique de la nature et donc hommage à la Grande Déesse-Mère, voir Gergova D., 1989, 39).

⁴⁶ Catalogue 1993, N° 53; Harper P.O., 1993, 194/5. Le roi est paré d'une couronne murale avec, sur la couronne, un croissant de lune et un corymbe. Une telle couronne ne peut être attribuée à aucun souverain spécifique.

d'argent qui représentent un roi à cheval en train de chasser différents animaux. Sur la pièce du British Museum, le roi est à la chasse au lion. Le lion et la lionne ont déjà été atteints. La tête du lion est en train d'être tranchée. Le roi brandit un lionceau dans sa main gauche. L'explication couramment avancée jusqu'à présent consiste à dire que c'est là une façon de forcer les animaux plus âgés à sortir de leur cachette.⁴⁷ D'après moi, ce n'est pas le sens original et donc pas le sens correct.

Du Mesnil du Buisson a signalé que, dès le III^e millénaire avant J.-C., peut-être même plus tôt, on avait découvert que la planète Vénus était une seule et même étoile qui apparaissait à deux reprises. Par conséquent, la mort du lion du matin n'était qu'apparence. On s'imaginait donc que, lors de sa disparition, le lion du matin était immédiatement remplacé par un jeune lion qui lui succédait. Sur les tablettes d'ivoire de Ras Shamra, Ashter est représenté avec un petit lion dans les bras. Celui-ci figure l'étoile du matin. Dans le mythe, le lion du matin est tué par deux représentants d'El. Dans la description, l'étoile du matin est désignée par le terme *kpr*, c'est-à-dire *kefir* en hébreu. Cela veut dire un jeune lion, qui est déjà capable d'attraper lui-même sa proie.⁴⁸ Ce n'est donc pas un lionceau. Un lionceau est un *gour* en hébreu.

Un autre exemple de jeune lion (lionceau) tenu en l'air figurait sur une étoffe de soie de style sassanide, datée du VII^e ou VIII^e siècle, laquelle a malheureusement disparu.⁴⁹ Dans un médaillon, deux cavaliers sont représentés sur des chevaux ailés. Les chevaux, de profil, s'élancent l'un vers l'autre. Les cavaliers sont représentés de face. Entre eux deux se trouve un arbre que l'un saisit de la main droite et l'autre de la main gauche. Dans l'autre main, ils brandissent un jeune lion. En dessous des chevaux, deux lions en confrontation et deux cerfs en confrontation sont représentés, ainsi qu'à deux reprises une chasse avec un lion et une antilope. Comme on l'a déjà signalé à juste titre, il ne s'agit pas ici d'une chasse aux lions, puisque les cavaliers sont désarmés. Notre conclusion est dès lors que nous retrouvons ici des traces de l'ancien mythe, et notamment l'assurance d'immortalité associée au fait de tenir en l'air le jeune lion et de s'agripper à l'arbre de la vie. Il n'existe pas de meilleure protection.

Ayant percé le sens de ces éléments, nous pouvons considérer sous un autre jour la représentation sur le plat sassanide plus ancien. La différence entre un lionceau et un jeune lion s'explique facilement par les difficultés techniques rencontrées par l'artiste. On a également constaté que la couronne du roi chasseur contient effectivement des éléments sassanides, mais ne peut pas être attribuée à un roi bien précis. Il n'est donc pas question «du» roi, mais d'une

figure royale à la chasse. P.O. Harper fait observer que, sur les plats, les animaux apparaissent généralement par paire, l'un mort, l'autre vivant.⁵⁰ Ceci correspond merveilleusement bien à l'idée première de l'ancien mythe. Je suppose que le plat de Londres est décoré d'une représentation d'une valeur *apotropaïque* particulière, destinée à un souverain, éventuellement aux fins de l'utiliser lors de cérémonies ou de l'offrir en cadeau. Celui qui tient le plat dans ses mains reçoit une assurance d'immortalité à travers le message, illustré de façon vivante, de la résurrection perpétuelle sous une forme jeune après la mort.

La prudence reste toutefois de mise en ce qui concerne ce thème de la chasse royale. Diverses représentations au cours des siècles amènent à une autre interprétation. Le chasseur devient plus important que le lion, image de la planète Vénus en tant qu'étoile du matin et étoile du soir, le pivot du récit. L'idée première, à savoir que l'envoyé de la déesse céleste tue le lion du matin, devient : un roi tue un lion. La scène devient alors l'image de la puissance du roi et de son privilège de chasser les lions. La chasse que l'homme fait à l'animal est alors considérée comme un exercice de ses aptitudes militaires. R. Goggräfe a expliqué ce fait, sans établir par ailleurs un rapport avec l'ancien mythe animalier qui, à mon avis, est à la base du thème et dont le sens ne disparaît pas.⁵¹ Souvent, il est difficile de déterminer quelle interprétation domine.

Au fil des siècles, l'image du lion chasseur se fait moins fréquente en Europe occidentale. Par contre, la poursuite du lièvre par le chien (l'assistant du lion) apparaît régulièrement, toujours en tant qu'*apotropaion*.

L'idée première d'obtention de l'immortalité après, ou plutôt à travers, la mort n'a pas disparu pour autant,

⁴⁷ Harper P.O. et P. Meyers, 1981, 76/77, Pl. 25, fig. 20, avec référence à la mosaïque de la chasse de Worcester (Levi D., 365, fig. 151) et à Plinie, *Nat. Hist.* VIII, XXV, 18, 25 et Sidoine, Lib. IX, Lettre IX, 7 de 475. Ces communications ne font pas véritablement référence à la chasse au lion adulte. La représentation, sur la mosaïque de Worcester, du cavalier qui, à l'envers sur son cheval au galop, brandit un lionceau devant une lionne bondissante n'est pas une scène de chasse. Le cavalier n'est pas armé et deux lionceaux accompagnent la lionne dans sa course. Il s'agit probablement d'une illustration de la capture de lionceaux dans le but de les dompter. Le thème de la lionne accompagnée de deux lionceaux en train de courir apparaît dans un autre contexte, une scène de chasse, sur la mosaïque de Megalopsychia à Antioche. Un chasseur debout y tue la lionne d'un coup de lance. Il ne brandit pas de lionceau. Les thèmes sont donc combinés. Dunbabin K.M.D., 1999, fig. 194.

⁴⁸ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1970, 8 sq., 13.

⁴⁹ Hartner W. et R. Ettinghausen, 1964, 168, fig. 8; Ettinghausen R., 1972, 45, Pl. XIII, no. 47.

⁵⁰ Harper P.O., 1993, 98.

⁵¹ Goggräfe R., 1999, 113 sq.



Fig. 8. Détail de la marge supérieure, bible latine, fol. I, Ms. 9157, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Bruxelles.

comme en témoigne une enluminure dans une bible latine au fol. 1 du ms. 9157 B.R. Bruxelles. Cette bible date de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle.⁵² Dans la marge supérieure, un chien tue un lièvre d'un coup de dents entre deux arbres de vie (Fig. 8). Un oiseau portant un ruban rouge entre les pattes descend vers la tête levée du lièvre agonisant. Dans la marge inférieure, des chiens et des lièvres dansent joyeusement ensemble, pattes entremêlées, manifestement en un lieu où ne règne que la paix.

Pour la bonne compréhension des choses, nous devons revenir une fois de plus au mythe animalier. Dans celui-ci, l'aigle céleste joue un rôle d'assistant lors de la mise à mort du lion du matin. En pareil cas, il peut aussi porter un serpent dans son bec. Le serpent est un symbole d'immortalité pour les Sémites, parce qu'il change sans cesse de peau et reste ainsi jeune.⁵³ Cette peau, sous la forme d'écailles, perpétue cette idée dans l'art à travers les siècles.⁵⁴ L'apport de l'immortalité explique probablement dès lors la représentation qui figure sur un plat attique du peintre KX, N° 101, 1, Antikenmuseum, Bâle, datant des environs de 590 avant J.-C. (Fig. 9). Certes, l'aigle ne tient pas le serpent dans son bec, mais la rosette (qui représente une étoile) à l'arrière-plan renvoie à un événement astral. L'apport de

l'immortalité fait office d'*apotropaion*. Le plat et son contenu sont protégés.

Nous avons déjà pu établir ci-dessus le rapport entre le mythe animalier et les oiseaux portant des rubans rouges, à savoir sur le sol en mosaïque des environs de la fin du V^e siècle dans le narthex de la grande basilique de Bitola.⁵⁵ Il me semble par conséquent fondé d'affirmer de manière générale que la poursuite de lièvres par des chiens, sous quelque forme qu'elle soit représentée, a toujours conservé son sens d'*apotropaion*.

En fait, la chose a déjà été expliquée d'une tout autre manière, avec d'autres exemples, bien avant les publications de R. du Mesnil du Buisson sur le

⁵² Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1988, 157, fig. 14, 15.

⁵³ Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1970, 133 sq., 137; Voir page 165 ci-dessus.

⁵⁴ Des écailles servant d'*apotropaion* apparaissent très souvent comme décoration unie sur les sols en mosaïque de la fin de l'Antiquité, généralement avec à l'intérieur un bouton de rose, signe du printemps, de la vie nouvelle. Voir par exemple la mosaïque dans l'abside IV à Khirbat Al-Mafjar près de Jéricho (Ettinghausen R., 1972, Pl. XVIII, 62). Des écailles figurent aussi sur des couvercles de sarcophages. Elles sont souvent présentes dans l'art roman pour symboliser la frontière entre le ciel et la terre ou le ciel lui-même (Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1998, 163).

⁵⁵ Voir note 37.



Fig. 9. Plat attique du peintre KX, détail, Antikenmuseum Bâle, N° 101-1.

mythe animalier. En 1937, K. von Spiesz a consacré une importante étude à l'histoire de la chasse au lièvre.⁵⁶ Il commence par constater que la poursuite du lièvre par le chien apparaît déjà dans l'art mycénien. Au cours de sa démonstration, il relève des combinaisons tantôt avec une étoile, tantôt avec des végétaux qui sont censés porter en eux la force vitale, comme l'arbre de vie ou le pampre, ou encore avec une tête de Gorgone. Il remarque aussi que l'animal chassé est pris dans un filet à l'issue d'une battue. Il arrive à la conclusion que la chasse au lièvre est en rapport avec l'au-delà.

Il relève l'apparition fréquente de ce thème dans l'art romain dans la zone le long du Rhin et du Danube, entre autres sur des stèles funéraires du I^{er} siècle jusqu'aux environs de 200 entre Vienne et Budapest. Il mentionne notamment la stèle funéraire de Stenamanger, Musée National de Budapest, de la seconde moitié du II^e siècle, sur laquelle figurent à la fois un chasseur chassant un cerf et un chien poursuivant un lièvre. Une tête de Gorgone et un *cantharos* sont également représentés sur cette stèle.⁵⁷ La stèle est protégée à tous les égards. Sa particularité tient à la multiplicité des motifs, chacun ayant un contexte *apotropaïque* différent. Cette stèle date de la même époque que celle de Bellicus.

Sans connaître l'origine, l'ancien mythe de la chasse, von Spiesz a clairement identifié la persistance du motif et sa valeur *apotropaïque*.

En 1969, A. Grabar était également convaincu du sens prophylactique de certaines représentations de la chasse, notamment sur les sols en mosaïque de la fin de l'Antiquité.⁵⁸ Tout comme K. von Spiesz, il ne pouvait pas connaître le rapport avec l'ancien mythe animalier tel qu'exposé par R. du Mesnil du Buisson. Mais à présent qu'il est devenu clair que l'ancien mythe animalier en tant qu'expression de l'éternité à travers l'alternance sans cesse répétée de la vie et de la mort est la source des scènes de chasse, il est important de réétudier de nombreux sols en mosaïque de la fin de l'Antiquité en fonction de cette donnée. En guise d'introduction, j'évoquerai ici une seule mosaïque.

Il s'agit d'une mosaïque de l'église Saint-Georges à Bosra, Deir el - 'Adas, aujourd'hui dans l'Antiquarium de la citadelle de Bosra.⁵⁹ Cette mosaïque de 722

⁵⁶ Spiesz W. von, 1937, 243-267.

⁵⁷ Spiesz W. von, 1937, 148, Taf. 2, fig. 10.

⁵⁸ Grabar A., 1980, 17/8.

⁵⁹ Donceel-Voûte P., 1988, 45 sq., fig. 23; Dunbabin K.M.D., 1999, 184/5, fig. 199.

n'a été que partiellement conservée. En voici une brève description.

Le haut de la mosaïque est occupé par une bande représentant un caravanier accompagné de quatre dromadaires lourdement chargés attachés les uns derrière les autres, chacun avec une plume *apotropaïque* sur le nez et une clochette *apotropaïque* autour du cou. Son nom est inscrit en grec au-dessus de sa tête: *Mouchasos kamelari(o)s*. L'arrière-plan clair est couvert d'une végétation en fleurs un peu clairsemée.

Plus bas, seule une partie du dessin de la mosaïque subsiste, à peu près sur la largeur des trois premiers dromadaires. Dans un rectangle debout encadré d'une bande avec un somptueux motif tressé, les éléments suivants sont représentés dans trois registres. Dans le registre supérieur, une figure princière se tient debout à droite. Son vêtement et son long pantalon sont brodés de perles. Sa tête est couverte d'un capuchon (un bonnet à poils?). Il tient une longue corde lovée dans la main gauche; de la main droite, il encourage une lice et un chien (tous deux à longue queue) qui pourchassent deux lièvres, reconnaissables à leurs longues oreilles et leur courte queue. Les chiens portent un collier. Ils sont donc en service.

Dans le registre situé plus bas, un animal sauvage solidement bâti, avec une courte queue, pourchasse un animal qui ressemble à un chien à longue queue mais sans collier. Celui-ci se presse à la rencontre d'un personnage qui tient quelque chose devant lui – un morceau de tissu, un bouclier(?). Cela semble en tout cas être un objet destiné à attraper quelque chose ou à se protéger contre quelque chose. L'arrière-plan comporte la même jeune végétation que celle des registres supérieurs.

Le troisième registre présente un autre caractère. Il est occupé par trois arbres au port imposant, probablement des dattiers. La cime est constituée de trois feuilles sombres à nervure claire. Le tronc de l'arbre de droite a une seule branche tronquée à droite avec un jeune rameau. Un pampre avec une grappe de raisin s'enroule autour de chaque tronc (visiblement un mode de culture bien connu dicté par le manque de place). L'arbre de gauche n'a été que partiellement conservé. Un personnage se tient de part et d'autre de l'arbre du milieu. Le personnage de gauche coupe une grappe de raisin, celui de droite se trouve à côté d'une cage avec à l'intérieur un oiseau. Il soulève de surcroît un oiseau au-dessus de celle-ci. À droite à côté de l'arbre de droite et à gauche de l'arbre du milieu, il y a un oiseau. Le côté gauche de la scène est manquant. L'arrière-plan ne comporte pas de végétation supplémentaire. On peut se demander si ce registre est de la même main que le reste de la mosaïque. Les personnages ne présentent pas la ligne blanche caractéristique sur les mem-

bres et ne portent pas des vêtements comme ceux du caravanier.

Sous ce registre, on aperçoit des traces qui indiquent la présence d'un *cantharos* avec de part et d'autre un paon.

Madame P. Donceel-Voûte ne voit la représentation de l'ensemble du panneau que comme une illustration de la vie quotidienne. C'est également l'opinion de madame K.M.D. Dunbabin. Je suis d'accord avec elles pour ce qui est de la partie supérieure avec le caravanier. Il porte d'ailleurs un nom. Vient ensuite, d'après moi, la conjuration du malheur sous la forme d'une battue menée par un personnage princier. Chasseur, il ne porte pas d'arme mais bien un lasso. Celui-ci sert à ne pas faire couler de sang plus tard, lors de la mise à mort, après que le gibier a été pris dans un «filet» (ici le morceau de tissu tenu en l'air?). Son vêtement brodé de perles indique en tout cas à coup sûr qu'il ne s'agit pas de la représentation d'une chasse ordinaire. Le fait de porter des perles signifiait plus qu'une simple décoration matérielle. Les perles avaient un sens symbolique: elles étaient une promesse de résurrection. Dans le Codex Iustinianus XI, 12, (1877), il est stipulé que les perles sont réservées à la cour impériale. Personne ne peut même les offrir à l'empereur.⁶⁰

Le registre inférieur ne représente pas non plus des vendanges et une capture d'oiseaux ordinaires. C'est un au-delà bienheureux qui est évoqué ici, le fait de boire la boisson de vie en mangeant le raisin, de la même manière que, sur tant de mosaïques, un lièvre est représenté mordillant une grappe de raisin. Cela se passe alors après sa mise à mort.

Ce n'est pas la capture d'un oiseau qui est représentée. Il serait alors pris assis sur la cage avec l'appeau. Dans les mains levées, un oiseau est libéré. L'âme de l'être humain est prisonnière de son corps comme un oiseau de sa cage.⁶¹ Certains oiseaux sont déjà libres.

La branche d'arbre tronquée portant un jeune rameau représente la vie nouvelle, tout comme la jeune végétation dans les autres registres.⁶²

Des motifs tels qu'un lanceur de lasso, des vendanges, un lièvre mordillant une grappe de raisin, un oiseau dans et à côté d'une cage, nous en trouvons encore, en compagnie d'autres, également entourés d'un pampre, sur une mosaïque dans le presbytère

⁶⁰ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1980, 233, n. 23; Eliade M., 1991, 125-150.

⁶¹ Grabar A., 1966, 9-15; Øystein Hjort A., 1968, 21-32; Pour une opinion divergente, voir: Baumann P., 1999, 54 sq.

⁶² Piccirillo M., 1981, Tav. 31, 32, 1986, 229, Kat. 17, 18; Comparez la branche d'arbre tronquée portant le jeune rameau en tant que signe de vie nouvelle (symbolique) avec les troncs d'arbre à côté de saint Jacques, Porte des Orfèvres, à la cathédrale de Compostelle, Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1998, 155 sq., fig. 2.

d'une église consacrée à Elie, Marie et Soreg à Gerasa, première moitié du VII^e siècle. Ici, ce n'est pas une scène de chasse qui est représentée, ni d'ailleurs une scène de vendanges. En d'autres termes, le recours à des images de la vie quotidienne ne veut pas nécessairement dire qu'il s'agit d'une simple représentation de la vie quotidienne. Les formes artistiques avaient une fonction utilitaire. Elles n'étaient pas qu'une belle illustration, elles étaient porteuses d'un message. Ce message faisait office d'*apotropaion*.

Il est intéressant d'étudier également une mosaïque datant de deux siècles plus tôt, à savoir la mosaïque de 531 dans le Baptistère de la Diaconie du Mémorial de Moïse sur le mont Nébo.⁶³ C'est essentiellement le même thème qui est déjà représenté là-bas en quatre registres, mais dans un autre ordre et avec d'autres variantes.

Les deux registres supérieurs illustrent la lutte d'hommes à pied et à cheval, armés de lances, contre des animaux sauvages. Des chiens portant un collier y participent. Le troisième registre est constitué d'arbres dont la cime jaillit d'un tronc coupé et dénudé, donc d'arbres de vie. Plusieurs animaux mordillent paisiblement ces arbres. A gauche, un personnage est assis.⁶⁴

Le registre inférieur représente deux caravaniers accompagnés de plusieurs animaux. L'arrière-plan de l'ensemble de la mosaïque est occupé par de jeunes végétaux, signe d'une vie nouvelle.

Que fait une scène de chasse dans un Baptistère? Je voudrais proposer l'explication suivante. Ces scènes de la vie quotidienne ont été utilisées pour exprimer au fond une seule idée, celle de «la mort et la résurrection». Pour les animaux, il s'agit de la mort physique donnée par un autre animal ou par un être humain. L'ancien mythe animalier en est le fondement. Pour l'homme, il peut aussi en être autrement. Par le baptême, il meurt symboliquement pour renaître à une nouvelle vie. Pour moi, le personnage à gauche entre les arbres de vie dans le troisième registre n'est donc pas un berger. Il aurait alors pour attribut un bâton. C'est un être qui se trouve dans la vie nouvelle, tout comme les animaux grignotant paisiblement, qui n'ont de surcroît plus besoin de berger. Ils sont en sécurité.

Tout comme dans la mosaïque de Bosra, les caravaniers sont les seuls personnages réels, non symboliques, à savoir les aspirants à la vie nouvelle, ceux qui ont besoin de protection, selon toute vraisemblance, ceux qui seront baptisés. Ils pourraient être les donateurs de la mosaïque.

Pour l'explication de la présence de combats d'animaux dans une église chrétienne, je renvoie aussi à la mosaïque dans le narthex de la grande basilique d'Heraclea Lyncestis.⁶⁵

Si nous revenons maintenant à la stèle de Belliccus, lequel se tient en *monosandalos* entre un chien et un lièvre, nous nous rendons compte qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de ses animaux préférés, ses compagnons de jeu. A l'aide des quelques exemples évoqués ci-dessus, nous avons parcouru l'histoire de la chasse, notamment entre chien et lièvre, depuis son origine mésopotamienne à travers plusieurs millénaires. Nous avons vu que, bien que son sens premier se soit perdu, sa valeur protectrice, basée sur la croyance «après la mort vient la résurrection», est demeurée intacte.

Pour nous, il est impossible de déterminer avec certitude où et quand prend fin la conscience de ce sens premier. Pour nous, ce qui est extraordinaire, c'est de rencontrer, dans cette histoire invraisemblablement longue, Belliccus entre chien et lièvre, tel un témoin muet de ce thème.

4. BELLICCUS EN TANT QUE FORGERON

La première question qui se pose est de savoir comment nous devons comprendre cette représentation artisanale. Il y a deux possibilités. La première est de supposer que l'on a voulu indiquer que, dans sa vie quotidienne, Belliccus était un forgeron. La deuxième est de considérer que cette caractérisation en tant que forgeron a un sens symbolique.

Bien que des défunts fussent parfois représentés sur leur monument funéraire avec un attribut qui faisait référence à leur profession ou à leur rang pendant leur existence terrestre, je pense que nous devons exclure ici cette solution. En tout état de cause, le marteau et la pince n'étaient guère fréquents.⁶⁶ De plus, l'inscription souligne les antécédents militaires de Belliccus. En outre, les particularités dont nous avons déjà parlé ont un caractère symbolique. Il serait par conséquent surprenant que les références à la forge aient une signification bien réelle.

Cette argumentation a d'autant plus de poids que, dans l'Antiquité, on ne considérait pas tant un forgeron comme un artisan que comme quelqu'un doté de pouvoirs spéciaux.⁶⁷ C'était un «maître du feu». C'était lui qui fabriquait les armes mais il ne les em-

⁶³ Piccirillo M., 1986, Catalogo, Tav. V, 63 sq.; Idem 1986, Katalog, Taf. II, 28.

⁶⁴ Comparez avec la mosaïque du Diwan du palais de Khirbat Al-Mafjar, où, à gauche, la gazelle mordille l'arbre de vie après avoir été tuée à droite de celui-ci. Reste encore à deviner ce qui se passait dans le Diwan. C'était une pièce minutieusement protégée avec un bassin pour l'eau ou le vin. La mosaïque avec l'arbre et les animaux se trouve dans une abside située un peu plus haut derrière le Diwan; Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1990, Fig. 3, 10, 133 sq.

⁶⁵ Voir note 37.

⁶⁶ Schober A., 1923, 177.

⁶⁷ Eliade M., 1956; Delcourt M., 1957; Capdeville A., 1995, 333, 415.

ployait pas personnellement, à l'instar d'Héphaïstos qui fabriquait l'éclair pour Zeus. Forger des armes signifiait également donner à celles-ci un pouvoir magique. L'activité du forgeron consistait à transformer du fer au moyen du feu, que ce fer fût tombé du ciel – fragment de météorite – ou qu'il ait été extrait des entrailles de la terre en tant que minerai.⁶⁸ Ceci signifie transformer de la matière première en une arme pour la guerre ou en un instrument pour l'agriculture; en d'autres termes, le forgeron fait passer le métal d'un état à un autre. Cette transformation de la matière première en métal s'effectue à une allure plus rapide qu'elle n'a lieu dans la nature, du moins à ce qu'on croyait.⁶⁹ On supposait en effet que les métaux poussaient dans les entrailles de la terre. Le forgeron provoquait une sorte de naissance anticipée, il intervenait dans le rythme du temps cosmique.

Nous retrouvons cette connotation magique dans les récits relatifs à Héphaïstos et Vulcain.

R. Capdeville a expliqué que Vulcain ne peut pas être considéré rien que comme le successeur direct d'Héphaïstos, bien qu'ils soient tous deux «maître du feu». Pour nous, ce qui est important, c'est qu'il existait un rapport entre un forgeron et un guerrier, c'est-à-dire entre Vulcain et Mars.⁷⁰ R. Capdeville a fait remarquer que, dès l'époque minoenne, il existait une communauté qui pratiquait des rituels associés à l'initiation de jeunes hommes et à l'institution d'une communauté politique. La Grande Déesse avait à ses côtés un jeune Dieu, tour à tour fils et amant, qui accompagnait les adolescents vers l'âge adulte. La formation militaire qui y était liée se développa fortement à l'Âge du Bronze avec la découverte de la métallurgie. Le jeune dieu joue alors un rôle dominant. Capdeville précise, pour les différentes régions, qui devient l'héritier de cette divinité. Parmi ces héritiers, il y a Héphaïstos. Le rapport avec l'initiation des jeunes hommes reste important. A Rome, Vulcain figure avant tout dans les légendes royales. Capdeville relève le rôle important du Vulcanal aux origines de Rome. Ceci explique aussi le lien de Vulcain avec le monde militaire. Il est le protecteur des jeunes guerriers. Il bénit les nouvelles armes. Son rôle principal reste celui de forgeron. Capdeville le résume comme suit dans sa conclusion finale.

« C'est pourquoi le rattachement de Vulcain à un dieu, anciennement subordonné à une Grande Déesse et orienté principalement vers les jeunes guerriers, dont il est le prototype et dont il garantit l'initiation, mais participant également à la tutelle de toutes les activités liées à la souveraineté, dont la métallurgie a fait partie à l'origine, nous paraît la meilleure voie pour expliquer aussi bien la fonction principale du dieu romain du feu que son rôle aux origines de Rome. »⁷¹

A ce dernier propos, il est aussi important de signaler que Mars et Vulcain sont interchangeable en tant que père de Romulus et Rémus.

Nous savons que celui qui subit une initiation est souvent représenté en *monosandalos*, le cas échéant en estropié, mais aussi celui qui procède à l'initiation, comme par exemple Dionysos ou Asclépios. Héphaïstos peut être ajouté à la liste des estropiés. Depuis que le Prof. Ph. Bruneau a démontré que l'«Ares Borghese» a dû être un *monosandalos* avant sa restauration, nous avons également une confirmation de son rôle d'initiateur. Mars et Vulcain se meuvent ainsi souvent sur le même terrain.⁷²

Ceci nous ramène au jeune Belliccus en tant que forgeron et *monosandalos*. Il est celui qui est initié, et ce par un forgeron. La chose est représentée de manière un peu obscure. L'action se déroule dans un lieu sacré, la forge, vu les instruments qui sont accrochés au mur. Il doit s'agir d'une initiation de type militaire. Comment se passait une initiation? Un adepte devait-il d'abord forger lui-même son arme? Est-ce pousser trop loin les suppositions que d'attacher un double sens au fait que Belliccus ne porte qu'une seule chaussure, à savoir qu'il serait mort précisément pendant l'initiation qui devait faire de lui un homme capable de se défendre? Il est clairement indiqué qu'il n'avait pas encore atteint ce statut militaire vu la coupe de cheveux qu'il porte.

5. LA COIFFURE DE BELLICCUS

Belliccus porte des cheveux coupés très court avec une longue mèche derrière l'oreille droite. En 1894, M.E. Babelon a supposé que cette coiffure indiquait que Belliccus était prêtre d'Isis.⁷³ Ce ne peut pas être exact, car s'il avait été prêtre d'Isis, son crâne aurait été rasé à l'exception de la mèche. Babelon a indiqué ceci à tort.

Nous devons donc chercher ailleurs le sens de cette coupe de cheveux. Manifestement, il ne s'agit pas d'une mode liée à un lieu et/ou une époque, mais bien d'une donnée symbolique. Nos pensées s'orientent bien sûr vers l'éventualité qu'une telle coiffure puisse s'inscrire dans le cadre d'une initiation.

La mèche d'Horus est bien connue chez les Egyptiens. Cette marque de la minorité d'un personnage haut

⁶⁸ Eliade M., 1956, «On n'insistera pas sur la sacralité du fer. Qu'il passe pour tombé de la voûte céleste, ou qu'il soit extrait des entrailles de la Terre, il est chargé de puissance sacrée.», 26, 70.

⁶⁹ Eliade M., 1956, 63 sq.

⁷⁰ Capdeville A., 1995, 77, 305, n. 55.

⁷¹ Capdeville A., 1995, 411 sq., 423.

⁷² Bruneau Ph., 1980, 196 sq.

⁷³ Babelon M.E., 1894, 199-201.

placé était rasée au moment du mariage et de l'intro-nisation.

Nous trouvons un autre exemple dans l'art minoen. R.B. Koehl démontre que des coiffures spéciales n'étaient pas seulement caractéristiques des différents groupes d'âge de la population masculine minoenne, mais qu'elles indiquaient aussi une différence de classe et de statut parmi les jeunes.⁷⁴ Il détaille ces coiffures, partant d'enfants encore jeunes, aux cheveux très courts, pour passer aux adolescents un peu plus âgés, au crâne rasé à l'exception de quelques mèches spéciales. Ensuite, on se laissait pousser les cheveux et on rassemblait les mèches en un chignon au-dessus de la tête.

On rencontre aussi de longues tresses, des boucles sur le front et une mèche spéciale plus courte du sommet de la tête vers l'arrière. Des variantes à souhait, et toutes caractéristiques de la jeune aristocratie.

Le seul fait de porter les cheveux courts peut aussi renvoyer à une autre classe. R.B. Koehl suppose que le changement de coiffure dans l'aristocratie minoenne faisait partie de cérémonies initiatiques pendant les phases de la croissance. C'est une donnée importante. Les différentes façons de se coiffer ne sont pas seulement caractéristiques de l'âge, mais aussi de l'appartenance à l'aristocratie.

Le changement de coiffure n'est pas le seul signe lors de l'initiation d'un adolescent qui fera de lui un homme. A cette occasion, la fête d'Ekdysia en Crète, les adolescents troquaient aussi leurs vêtements contre la tenue que portait un homme adulte, à savoir un équipement militaire.⁷⁵

Bien que ces données soient chronologiquement très éloignées du monument de Belliccus, je crois que nous pouvons néanmoins les utiliser, et ce pour les raisons suivantes.

Pour commencer, nous devons nous rendre compte que la coiffure ne doit pas être considérée comme un phénomène en soi mais comme une marque, un signe, de quelque chose d'autre. Nous ne devons donc pas rechercher l'analogie absolue des coupes de cheveux, mais nous concentrer sur ce que la coiffure indique, en l'occurrence une initiation. Ici, il s'agirait de l'initiation d'adolescents d'une classe supérieure, laquelle doit faire d'eux des hommes capables de se défendre. Notre question doit par conséquent être: ces processus initiatiques ont-ils continué d'exister?

La réponse est oui, et même sous une forme très dure. R.F. Willetts décrit la façon dont un Spartiate était soumis, depuis l'âge de six ans jusqu'à l'âge de soixante ans, à une discipline imposée par l'état.⁷⁶ Son existence était divisée en périodes. A douze ans, les jeunes adolescents se rasaient la tête et portaient

le même manteau, été comme hiver. A l'issue d'une troisième période de six ans venait un test physique éprouvant. R.F. Willetts fait référence, malheureusement sans autre indication, à Plutarque, qui raconte qu'il avait souvent vu des jeunes succomber à l'épreuve. Willetts ajoute que cette cérémonie continua d'exister jusqu'au IV^e siècle après J.-C. et qu'elle avait atteint sa forme la plus brutale à l'époque romaine.

Tacite décrit une coutume des Chattes, qui ne se coupaient les cheveux et la barbe que lorsqu'ils avaient abattu un ennemi.⁷⁷

Bien sûr, au fil des siècles et en fonction du lieu, des différences sont apparues dans la coupe, dans le choix des mèches que l'on pouvait laisser pousser et dans les initiations qui donnaient lieu à un changement de coiffure. Ce qui importe, c'est que l'on procédait à une coupe qui indiquait clairement pour tout le monde une période bien précise de la vie.

En outre, le changement de vêtements est tout aussi significatif. J'ai déjà relevé précédemment ce signe distinctif lors d'une initiation.⁷⁸ Il s'agissait du moment où, sur l'ordre de Dieu, Jacob partait pour Béthel avec les siens (Genèse, 35,2). C'était une initiation d'un autre genre que celle qui, d'après R.B. Koehl, avait lieu en Crète.⁷⁹ Là-bas, la coutume voulait qu'un homme adulte enlevât un beau et vaillant garçon. Il l'emmenait quelques mois avec lui, à l'écart dans les bois, pour lui inculquer toutes les aptitudes qu'un homme était censé avoir et maîtriser. Il lui faisait ensuite don de trois choses: un bœuf à sacrifier, une tenue militaire et un broc. Le jeune homme était alors autorisé à participer aux ripailles des hommes. Il se tenait à côté de son ami plus âgé et faisait office d'échanson.

Ce déroulement reflète les trois phases d'une initiation: séparation d'une communauté, isolement et réintégration dans une autre communauté, c'est-à-dire mourir en tant qu'enfant pour ressusciter en tant qu'adulte. Outre la coiffure de circonstance, l'événement s'accompagne de trois autres signes distinctifs: le bœuf, dont la peau écorchée vient garnir un bouclier en forme d'un huit, morceau de l'équipement militaire au même titre que le vêtement, et ici le fait de recevoir un broc. Ce dernier élément

⁷⁴ Koehl R.B., 1986, 100, 104; Leach E.R., 1958, 160; Voir également: Davis E.N., 1986, 399 sq.

⁷⁵ Koehl R.B., 1986, 104 sq.

⁷⁶ Willetts R.F., 1962, 45 sq.

⁷⁷ «Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.» *Germania* 31; Eliade M., 1959, 182, n. 3.

⁷⁸ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 182, n. 27.

⁷⁹ Koehl R.B., 1986, 105.

renvoie à l'origine du rôle et de la place d'un échan-son. Il n'est pas seulement la personne de confiance, mais socialement parlant il ne fait pas encore totalement partie de la communauté. Il n'a pas encore vécu la toute dernière initiation, celle qui fera de lui un compagnon de ripaille. Il se trouve encore dans un statut inférieur.

Pour la jeunesse athénienne de la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle, dont la formation militaire était aux mains de l'état, la coutume voulait que les *epheboi* portent un manteau spécial. Celui-ci était de couleur sombre, la couleur du deuil. Par analogie avec les manteaux grossiers des jeunes Crétois et Spartiates, il est possible que cet élément renvoie à la mort de l'enfance lors de l'initiation.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

Finalement, qu'est-ce que toutes ces recherches nous ont appris sur la personne de Belliccus?

Ce devait être un homme encore jeune, mort dans un contexte militaire avant d'avoir atteint le statut de guerrier reconnu. Sur son chemin vers l'au-delà, quelqu'un a voulu le protéger avec beaucoup de soin, de savoir et d'amour. Sa coiffure et son vêtement font référence à sa jeunesse et au fait qu'il n'a pas pu achever l'initiation qui devait faire de lui un guerrier reconnu. Il n'empêche qu'il a perdu la vie dans un contexte militaire, comme l'indiquent non seulement son nom, mais aussi sa représentation en tant que forgeron forgeant une arme. Les bons vœux qui l'accompagnent sont surtout exprimés par les animaux qui se tiennent à côté de lui, le chien et le lièvre, en tant qu'image de la chasse incessante, de la perpétuelle résurrection après la mort, de la promesse d'éternité.

Beaucoup de choses nous échappent toutefois encore. Belliccus devait être un personnage important en dépit de sa jeunesse et de l'échec de sa tentative d'accession à un rang militaire. Les données tangibles s'arrêtent ici. Aucune date n'est mentionnée. L'inscription avec les noms reste également un mystère. Ce qui est frappant, c'est que les lettres MEMOR BELLICCI BELLATOR... sont disposées de manière telle que celles du premier et du dernier mot sont espacées tandis que celles de BELLICCI sont serrées les unes contre les autres, juste dans la zone centrale au-dessus de la tête. Ce détail nous permet de supposer que le personnage représenté était quelqu'un «appartenant à la guerre».⁸¹ Les difficultés viennent du mot BELLATOR..., qu'il faut selon toute vraisemblance compléter pour obtenir BELLATORIS. A quoi se rapporte ce génitif? E. Babelon a supposé qu'il fallait compléter BELLATOR... pour en faire BELLATORIS filii. Ceci impliquerait que BELLICUS est un

nom propre, ainsi que BELLATOR, et qu'il s'agit ici d'une relation père-fils. Mais l'éventualité d'un rapport entre un ami plus âgé et son ami plus jeune demeure.

Se pose alors la question de savoir si, dans ce cas, il n'y aurait pas plutôt eu une inscription du genre: BELLATOR a érigé cette stèle en souvenir de son fils/ami BELLICUS à telle ou telle date. Puisque ceci ne relève pas de ma compétence, je laisse aux spécialistes de ce domaine le soin de résoudre l'énigme.

Une autre possibilité pourrait être de considérer BELLATORIS comme cognomen de BELLICCI. On pourrait alors lire: en souvenir de quelqu'un appartenant à la guerre, un soldat/duelliste. Je laisse aussi volontiers les spécialistes étudier cette éventualité.

Il me reste l'hypothèse et la question suivantes. Une partie de l'initiation permettant d'accéder au rang de militaire reconnu aurait-elle consisté en un duel à la vie à la mort entre deux candidats? L'un accède au rang convoité, l'autre sombre littéralement dans l'anonymat. Dans ce cas, la stèle funéraire pourrait avoir un sens non pas personnel mais allégorique, et aurait pu être installée en un lieu où le duel avait lieu, tout comme les représentations sur les fresques et les mosaïques évoquent généralement des événements qui se déroulaient dans l'endroit qu'elles décorent.

Nous pourrions alors considérer ce monument comme un précurseur de notre fameuse «tombe du soldat inconnu» avec la flamme éternelle, signe de résurrection.⁸²

Au début de cet article, je suis partie de l'idée que nous avions affaire à un monument funéraire sur lequel un personnage autrefois vivant était représenté en *monosandalos*. C'était d'ailleurs l'opinion courante. Arrivée au terme de mes recherches, j'ose mettre cette interprétation en doute. Des recherches complémentaires dans le domaine littéraire pourraient peut-être apporter les éclaircissements nécessaires.

⁸⁰ Willetts R.F., 1962, 48.

⁸¹ Voir note 16.

⁸² L'histoire du monument intitulé «Le Tombeau du Soldat Inconnu» doit à ma connaissance encore être écrite. Je citerai un seul exemple. Sur le sol en mosaïque de la chapelle funéraire de saint Polyeucte (officier de la XII^e légion, martyr au III^e siècle) dans le quartier Musrara de Jérusalem, qui date du VI^e siècle, figure ce qui suit. Je cite la traduction anglaise de l'inscription arménienne: «For the memory and salvation of all the Armenians whose names the Lord knows». Avi-Yonah M., 1933, 171/2. Cette chapelle a bien été appelée le premier monument connu au «Soldat Inconnu». Hintlian K., 1976, 15.



Fig. 10. Dessin à la plume d'Urs Graf de 1514, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.



Fig. 11. Dessin à la plume d'Urs Graf de 1516, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

CHAPITRE II

LES SUCCESSEURS

Il serait certes possible de considérer cette étude consacrée à *BELLICUS*, fils (?) de *BELLATOR*, comme terminée, si nous ne disposions pas d'effigies de soldats de périodes ultérieures également en *monosandalos*. Celles-ci nous entraînent dans un monde d'interprétations différentes en raison des rapports modifiés qu'elles établissent. Elles éclairent aussi d'une façon nouvelle certains détails de la représentation d'un *monosandalos* dans l'Antiquité, détails qui n'ont pas été remarqués ou n'ont pas été correctement évalués jusqu'à présent.

Tout d'abord, j'attire l'attention sur les dessins d'Urs Graf datant du début du XVI^e siècle décrits par W. Weisbach (Fig. 10, 11, 12).⁸³ Il a déjà fait quelques constatations remarquables pour l'époque de sa publication. Il voit le phénomène du simple soldat – pas du riche guerrier – ne portant qu'une chaussure comme l'évocation de son sort inégal, de

son balancement entre richesse lorsqu'il conquiert un butin et misère et pauvreté en cas de défaite. Weisbach considère le diable, dans les griffes duquel le soldat est tombé, comme son «*alter ego*», également représenté sous l'aspect du bouffon. C'est là une donnée intéressante. Le soldat ne se retrouve pas seulement sur la mauvaise pente par suite d'une défaite, mais aussi par exemple à cause du jeu de dés ou d'une fille de joie; bref, en raison d'une folie. Puisque Weisbach n'était pas encore au courant de la notion de «rite de passage», il a cru devoir constater que le motif du *monosandalos* avait sans cesse un sens différent au fil du temps. Il était tout près de la solution, il lui manquait juste l'idée maîtresse: le passage d'un état à un autre et que c'était une seconde étape de se rendre compte que les différences observées portent sur des circonstances liées au lieu et/ou au temps et que c'est par conséquent ces circonstances qui nécessitent une explication. Bien

⁸³ Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel, Martin Bühler, inv. U.X. 52, Koegler 46, U.X. 71, Koegler 72, U.X. 104, Koegler 11; Weisbach W., 1942, 108-122; Forrer R., 1943, 52/3.



Fig. 12. Dessin à la plume d'Urs Graf de 1511/12, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.



Fig. 13. Dessin à la plume rehaussé de lavis de Niklaus Manuel, vers 1516, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, photo Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

que, selon moi, ses explications à propos d'autres *monosandaloi* ne soient pas toujours correctes, il présente une image claire du «soldat» en tant que *monosandalos* dans les dessins d'Urs Graf.

Ce qui frappe dans ces dessins, c'est que la notion de *monosandalos* est exprimée de façon plus nuancée, pas seulement au pied de la lettre, à travers le port d'une sandale unique. Le déséquilibre s'applique aussi à la tenue vestimentaire. Or, le vêtement en soi a de tout temps été un puissant moyen d'exprimer toutes sortes de choses par sa coupe et sa couleur. Nous nous limiterons ici à l'inégalité entre la gauche et la droite du costume, le cas échéant de l'équipement du «soldat». Ce détail irréal signifie que ce n'est pas une tenue véritable, portable, qui est représentée, mais qu'à travers elle c'est un message qui est transmis. Weisbach a décrit cela clairement. Néanmoins, les dessins d'Urs Graf, dans leur diversité, ne sont pas l'élément le plus révélateur à cet égard, mais bien un dessin de Niklaus Manuel. Celui-ci représente une allégorie de «la lutte» (Fig. 13).

Urs Graf et Niklaus Manuel ne sont pas des cas isolés. Madame Ruth Mellinkoff relève la façon

dont, au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle, on représentait les personnes qui étaient censées appartenir au rebut de la société: fous et bouffons, bourreaux, piétaille militaire, joueurs, dandies, clients des bordels, persifleurs, parmi lesquels surtout des juifs lors du couronnement d'épines.⁸⁴ La morale chrétienne de l'époque intervient bien sûr ici. Madame Mellinkoff explique que ces personnages sont souvent caractérisés par des vêtements trop étroits, par certains motifs sur le tissu et surtout par certaines couleurs, à savoir des couleurs très criardes, ou par la présence de jaune et de vert en alternance à gauche et à droite.⁸⁵ Ce dernier élément, l'inégalité entre gauche et droite, est important pour nous. Que l'on considère par exemple le soldat romain dans le tableau de la Crucifixion de Balthasar Berger, vers 1532, à la Staatsgalerie de Stuttgart (Fig. 14, 15). Nous devons toujours garder à l'esprit qu'il ne s'agit pas de représentations de

⁸⁴ Weisbach W., 1942, 115; Mellinkoff R., 1993, 24 sq., 29, n. 162, 39 sq., 54, 131.

⁸⁵ Voir également: Pastoreau M., 1986, 23-43, fig. 4.



Fig. 14. *Crucifixion*, Balthasar Berger, vers 1532, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv. 640.

personnages véritables ayant un nom, mais bien de caractérisations telles que Le soldat, Le bouffon, Le juif, Le bourreau, etc., donc de figures allégoriques.

On pourrait avoir tendance à considérer l'extension du déséquilibre aux vêtements et à l'emploi des couleurs comme une phase ultérieure de l'évolution du port d'une chaussure unique. La prudence est toutefois de mise ici.

Il nous suffit de nous intéresser à nouveau, par exemple, à la tenture de Dionysos du IV^e siècle conservée à l'Abegg-Stiftung pour voir que ces particularités étaient déjà présentes initialement.⁸⁶ La représentation, du moins ce qu'il en reste, comporte huit personnages chacun dans une arcade. Comme je l'ai déjà souligné, le vieil homme à l'extrême

⁸⁶ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 186 sq.



Fig. 15. Détail de la Crucifixion de Balthazar Berger, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

gauche est une personnification de «*Somnus*». Il représente la mort (rituelle). Il porte sur l'épaule droite un *februum* avec lequel il est censé fouetter la personne à initier jusqu'à ce que celle-ci perde conscience, meure rituellement. Dans un certain sens, c'est un bourreau.

A côté de lui se tient une matrone aux longs cheveux, donc une femme mariée, une initiée. Elle est vêtue de rouge avec un peu de bleu. Dans la main droite elle tient un bandeau orné d'une fleur printanière et dans la main gauche une coupe de vin. Elle apporte les attributs de l'éveil à une nouvelle vie par un nouveau mariage assorti d'une nouvelle fécondité.⁸⁷ A côté d'elle se trouve la jeune femme qui est au centre de toute l'histoire. Ses cheveux sont encore courts. Elle porte une seule chaussure, rouge. Elle est vêtue de rouge et de bleu, les couleurs du mariage. Elle est partiellement enveloppée dans un manteau pourpre, donc royal. Celui-ci ne couvre qu'une de ses jambes. Il est clair que les couleurs jouent ici un rôle d'accompagnement.

A l'époque, je n'avais pas bien compris pourquoi le pantalon serrant porté par le vieillard *Somnus* était à moitié noir et à moitié rouge selon une division verticale. Tout au plus y avais-je vu des couleurs pouvant faire référence au deuil. A la lumière des descriptions précitées de madame R. Mellinkoff à propos des vêtements serrants et des motifs, surtout sur les pantalons, portés par les «anticonformistes» (voir par exemple les jambes du persifleur sur le tableau du Couronnement d'épines du Maître de la Passion de Karlsruhe, vers 1450) (Fig. 16), nous ne pouvons qu'affirmer que la position particulière de *Somnus* en tant que bourreau est soulignée ici par son pantalon. Les vêtements serrants étaient manifestement déjà une donnée ancienne.⁸⁸ Non seulement l'étroitesse du vêtement, mais aussi les découpures, en pointe ou non, étaient considérées

⁸⁷ Voir également: Dumézil G., 1998, 67 sq.

⁸⁸ Danckert W., 1979, 23-49; Mertens V., 1983, 20 sq.; Mellinkoff R., 1993, I, 72.



Fig. 16. Couronnement d'épines, Maître de la Passion de Karlsruhe, vers 1450, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 17. Statuette en bronze d'une danseuse de pantomime, Art Museum Princeton University.

comme un signe distinctif. Les tenues bigarrées renvoyaient également, d'après Madame R. Mellinkoff, à un rang inférieur.⁸⁹ Cela s'explique, selon moi, par des raisons pratiques. Celui qui n'avait pas de richesse devait composer son vêtement de divers restes de tissu qui étaient évidemment de couleur différente. Dans l'Antiquité, une telle tenue s'appelait un *centunculus*.⁹⁰ Elle était portée par des malheureux ou par des gens de rang inférieur, des domestiques ou des ménestrels.

Madame R. Mellinkoff fait allusion, pour l'Antiquité, à une statuette en bronze (h: 7,5 cm) de la fin du II^e siècle après J.-C. représentant un *monosandalos* (Fig. 17).⁹¹ Le petit personnage porte un vêtement découpé en pointes. Il est garni de clochettes de tous

les côtés. La jeune fille – car c'en est une – se tient dans une attitude de danseuse, rien que sur la pointe du pied droit nu, les bras levés. Sa tête est rejetée en arrière. Elle a des castagnettes dans les deux mains. Au pied gauche, un *scabellum* est attaché à un bottillon – pas une véritable chaussure.⁹²

Une danseuse de pantomime a beau être d'un rang inférieur, quelque chose de particulier a été représenté ici. Le seul fait qu'elle est une *monosandalos*, alors qu'on sait que les danseurs de pantomime étaient parfois appelés *planipedes*, le prouve. En pleine action, ils battaient la mesure avec le *scabellum*.⁹³ La danseuse de pantomime qui nous occupe n'est pas une *planipes* mais elle est en action, et ce dans un équilibre très instable où il semble difficile de battre la mesure. Cette attitude est importante.

W. Deonna a consacré une étude à la posture qui consiste à se tenir en équilibre sur la pointe d'un seul pied.⁹⁴ Il arrive à la conclusion qu'il s'agit d'une attitude rituelle de prière aux dieux, une attitude destinée à chasser les mauvais esprits. Le tintement de clochettes a du reste la même fonction. Deonna déclare par ailleurs que:

«Les rites et les motifs religieux, au cours de leur longue évolution, se vident peu à peu de leur contenu spirituel, pour ne laisser subsister que leur apparence formelle, devenir des jeux, des ornements. Mais ils en ont eu à l'origine, et ce sens peut persister plus ou moins inconscient, quand bien même il s'est obscurci. Tel est le cas pour l'acrobatie, et jusque dans les temps modernes.»⁹⁵

Nous ne nous appesantirons pas ici sur le rôle et la fonction des danseurs de pantomime et des acrobates dans le contexte funéraire, lors des repas ou au théâtre. Il est clair que, par son attitude et sa tenue vestimentaire, la statuette de bronze est chargée de symbolique, mais que le rang social inférieur du personnage est également exprimé. C'est tout à fait à juste titre que madame R. Mellinkoff a relevé l'existence de ce petit bronze dans son exposé des caractéristiques de la représentation du rebut de la société. Celles-ci existaient déjà à l'état embryonnaire dans l'Antiquité.

⁸⁹ Mellinkoff R., 1993, I, 19.

⁹⁰ Thesaurus 1912, III, 829/30, AP. VII, 5, «..., sed plane centunculis disparibus et male consarcinatis semiamictum»; Forcellini A., 1940, I, 581, Ap., *Apologia* XIII, 7, «Quid enim? Si choragium thymelicum possiderem, num ex eo argumentarere etiam uti me consuesse tragoedi symmate historonis crocota, orgia mimi centunculo?»; Mellinkoff R., 1993, I, 16 sq.

⁹¹ The Art museum, Princeton University. Bequest of Professor Albert Friend Jr., Class of 1915. Photo, Clem Fiori; Bieber M., 1939, 640-644; Idem, 1961, 249; Mellinkoff R., 1993, 17, 39.

⁹² Forcellini A., 1940, IV, 237.

⁹³ Bieber M., 1939, 641; Klein W., 1909, 101/2.

⁹⁴ Deonna W., 1959, 36.

⁹⁵ Deonna W., 1953, 68/9, 78.

Ajoutons qu'une autre particularité de la tenue vestimentaire a elle aussi une longue histoire. Sur la tenture de l'Abegg-Stiftung, la jeune femme qui sera initiée est représentée une jambe nue et l'autre couverte du manteau pourpre.⁹⁶ A cause de sa jambe nue, elle a été identifiée erronément avec Mystis, la nourrice de Dionysos. Elle n'est pourtant pas le seul *monosandalos* ayant une jambe nue et l'autre couverte. C'est en réalité un motif d'accompagnement et de soutien.

Sur le médaillon au centre du plat en argent d'Achille du Römer Museum à Augst, le *monosandalos* Achille a aussi une seule jambe dénudée.⁹⁷ Ceci n'a rien à voir avec le fait qu'il serait en train de se défaire de son habit féminin, fait qui n'a en outre jamais été mentionné nulle part en tant que tel. Son action consiste à s'emparer d'armes pour partir au combat. On pourrait en outre considérer qu'il s'agit d'une simple coquetterie stylistique si Achille n'apparaissait pas avec une jambe nue sur bon nombre de représentations de «la découverte à Scyros».⁹⁸ L'autre jambe est souvent couverte d'un manteau ou d'une partie de manteau telle une écharpe. Achille n'est pas partout représenté en *monosandalos*, mais ceci suffit à renvoyer à un «rite de passage», son passage d'une existence féminine à l'abri du danger à la vie périlleuse d'un guerrier condamné à mort. C'est pour lui une mort symbolique afin de ressusciter sous une autre nature, conformément à la prophétie inéluctable de l'oracle.

Ce motif d'accompagnement qu'est la jambe totalement ou partiellement couverte d'un manteau tandis que l'autre est nue continue à vivre sa propre vie parallèlement à la représentation du *monosandalos* dont il est en fait un dérivé.

Nous avons déjà rencontré ce phénomène précédemment sur l'horloge-calendrier de Louvain, à l'illustration du mois de janvier, passage de l'ancienne à la nouvelle année.⁹⁹

Mais l'idée maîtresse d'un «rite de passage» demeure le dépérissement et le renouveau de la nature. Il peut s'agir du bref passage du jour à la nuit (voir l'ancien mythe animalier) mais aussi du moment où la moisson est terminée, où la terre se met au repos pour ensuite renaître à la saison suivante chargée d'une fécondité nouvelle.

C'est délibérément que, dans ma description générale, je n'utilise pas les mots hiver et printemps parce que cela est lié au lieu et au climat. Ce n'est pas seulement le froid (de la mort) par opposition à la chaleur (de la vie), mais aussi la sécheresse (de la mort) par opposition à l'eau (de la vie) sous la forme de l'inondation ou de l'averse. Voilà pourquoi le nouvel an ne tombe pas partout à la même période, sans parler des calculs d'après l'année solaire ou l'année lunaire.

Bien sûr, dans nos contrées, le nouvel an coïncide avec le passage de la froidure de l'hiver aux prémices du printemps. Examinons par conséquent une fois encore les images du mois de janvier sur l'horloge-calendrier de Louvain (*Fig. 18*). Hormis le personnage assis par terre, donc humble, une jambe couverte et l'autre pas, près du feu agonisant qui représente l'année qui s'éteint, un feu qui doit être ranimé, c'est une scène de banquet qui est représentée ici. A côté des hôtes assis gaiement sur de hautes chaises, donc importants, se tient un échanton.¹⁰⁰ Avec sa cruche, il sert la boisson de vie pour l'an neuf aux riches convives. Sa tenue vestimentaire est assez singulière.

Il porte un pantalon moulant à rayures verticales noires et blanches. Mais sur sa jambe droite, les rayures ne descendent pas plus bas que le genou. Le reste de la jambe est blanc uni. Les deux pieds sont fourrés dans de petites chaussures noires. Ce n'est donc pas réellement un *monosandalos*. Il n'empêche que la marque d'un déséquilibre est bel et bien présente. En tant que serviteur de Dionysos, il remplit son rôle lors du «rite de passage» de l'ancienne à la nouvelle année.

En résumé, nous trouvons réunis ici les motifs suivants: le fait d'être assis par terre, une seule jambe couverte, un feu qui se meurt, des vêtements serrants ajustés de façon déséquilibrée et la consommation de vin. Tout ceci illustre un «rite de passage», mourir et ressusciter, mais aussi une place dans la société. Ce dernier élément n'intervient pas chez Bellicus. Il est accompagné d'attributs de la chasse et de la forge, dont nous avons expliqué le sens ci-dessus et qui n'ont certainement rien à voir avec un statut social inférieur, mais qui renvoient plutôt au contraire à un moment crucial dans la vie d'un adolescent de haut rang.

Pour comprendre à quel point cette valeur ajoutée à un *monosandalos*, à savoir la détermination de son statut social, et ce dans un sens négatif (à mille lieues d'un Toutânkhamon *monosandalos*), est devenue importante, il nous faut nous tourner vers une gravure qui reproduit en image inversée un dessin à la plume de P. Bruegel l'Ancien. Il ne s'agit pas ici

⁹⁶ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 186.

⁹⁷ Eliade M., 1976, 237, «Il a même vécu quelque temps parmi les filles vêtues comme une fille suivant une coutume spécifique de certaines initiations primitives de puberté.»; Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 182.

⁹⁸ LIMC I, 1, 1981, 58 sq.; LIMC I, 2, 1981, No. 117 (avec chaussure défectueuse à côté du pied nu), 131, 137, 143, 140, 144, 166, 172, 173a; Dunbabin K.M.D., 1978, Pl. VI, fig. 12.

⁹⁹ Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1998, 167 sq., fig. 18.

¹⁰⁰ L'idée de donner plus d'importance à quelqu'un en lui faisant prendre place sur un siège plus élevé est ancienne. Le roi Assuérus éleva ainsi l'Agagite Aman, Ancien Testament, Esther, 3,1; Pour le rôle et la place de l'échanton, voir Chapitre I, 73, ci-dessus.



Fig. 18. Représentation du mois de janvier, horloge-calendrier, Stedelijk Museum, Louvain.



Fig. 19. «Aestas», gravure d'après P. Bruegel l'Ancien, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Bruxelles.

d'un soldat, mais d'un ouvrier agricole, un moissonneur.¹⁰¹

La gravure est intitulée *Aestas* (Fig. 19). Cette représentation vaut la peine d'être analysée, car elle illustre plus qu'une simple occupation estivale à la campagne.

Le personnage principal, du côté droit, est un moissonneur. Il est représenté à demi accroupi, à la renverse, sur un monticule de tiges de blé coupées. Sur ce tas se trouve également une petite poire avec une zone gâtée ou pourrie. La jambe droite du moissonneur sort d'un pantalon court serrant pour s'avancer carrément hors de l'image, par-dessus le cadre avec la légende. Le pied droit est dénudé. La jambe gauche, couverte, est ramenée en position fléchie sous le moissonneur avec un pied chaussé. Le manche d'une faux repose sur sa cuisse gauche. La partie supérieure du manche disparaît sur le giron d'un personnage sombre, vu de dos, du côté droit.

Presque parallèlement à la jambe droite de ce *monosandalos*, la faux se dresse brutalement vers le haut avec la pointe de la lame tout à fait en dehors de l'image. L'inscription en est même interrompue. Ce n'est pas seulement un bel exemple de dessin en perspective, c'est aussi la marque d'une césure.¹⁰² À côté du *monosandalos* se trouve un panier vide, c'est-à-dire avec à l'intérieur seulement une cruche. Entre ses jambes, on aperçoit la moitié d'une deuxième cruche. Et il brandit encore des deux mains une grande cruche dans laquelle il boit. Cette cruche

¹⁰¹ Freedberg D., 1989, 178/9.

¹⁰² Au XV^e siècle déjà, on donnait des exemples de dessin en perspective en représentant le Christ, lors de Sa résurrection, enjambant l'avant du sarcophage, à la rencontre du spectateur, plutôt que l'arrière. Voir par exemple : Retable de la Crucifixion de K. van Soest de 1404 dans la Pfarrkirche Waldeck et Résurrection du Christ, seconde moitié du XV^e siècle, de K. Isenmann, Mus. Colmar.

masque son visage. Puisque, en tant que *monosandalos*, il a une signification symbolique, nous pouvons supposer que, assoiffé comme il est, il ne boit pas de l'eau mais du vin. Il est d'ailleurs complètement sonné. Il est rituellement mort.

Il a un grand pendant à gauche dans l'image, un moissonneur vu de dos, en plein labeur. La lame de sa faux, qu'il allonge, traverse la pointe de la lame de la faux couchée du *monosandalos* oisif. À gauche, à côté du moissonneur au travail, une fleur isolée, ouverte, repose sur les chaumes.

Un autre élément important de cette gravure est qu'à l'exception de deux petits personnages, aucune des autres figures n'est représentée avec un visage. Le plus petit de ces deux personnages est un moissonneur à gauche dans l'image. Il est paré d'une somptueuse couronne de feuilles ou de fleurs; pas vraiment une coiffure adaptée au dur labeur. Ce détail nécessite donc une explication. Curieusement, il s'oppose dans son mouvement aux autres moissonneurs. On dirait qu'il dévie vers le centre, en route vers le groupe du côté droit, qui renferme la promesse d'une nouvelle fécondité. C'est un «voyant». Je pense qu'il représente un génie végétal.¹⁰³ L'autre personnage ayant un visage se trouve presque au milieu de la gravure, ce qui veut dire qu'avec le compagnon à sa droite, il forme le centre du cercle des autres personnages. La chose en soi, cet emplacement central crucial, est importante. Les deux personnages représentent le cœur de l'événement. Penchés, ils grappillent tous deux les derniers épis de blé sur le champ moissonné. Le personnage à gauche n'a pas de visage. Celui-ci est dissimulé sous un chapeau. Bien que tous deux portent une brassée de tiges, le personnage sans visage ne ramasse qu'une dernière tige tandis que son compagnon, celui avec un visage, donc un voyant, en saisit une poignée. Derrière lui se trouve une grosse gerbe de blé, la plus imposante de toute la scène. Je pense que nous devons interpréter l'ensemble de la représentation de cette gravure comme suit. Elle est une parfaite illustration de «mourir et ressusciter», le «rite de passage» par excellence. La mort est annoncée du côté gauche par la moisson et le transport des gerbes sur le dos de petits personnages qui sortent de l'image vers la gauche. À l'horizon, une crucifixion, presque invisible tant elle est petite et vague, est présente telle une discrète réminiscence chrétienne.

Au centre, pivot de l'événement, nous avons vu qu'il y avait un ramasseur aveugle et un ramasseur voyant. L'aveugle qui saisit la dernière tige de blé représente la fin. Pour l'autre, son «*alter ego*», le voyant, qui réussit à en prendre une poignée, il y a la promesse d'une nouvelle belle récolte, symbolisée par la grosse gerbe derrière lui.

La moitié droite de la gravure propose sous tous les rapports, le point de vue chrétien excepté, une vision d'une nouvelle vie. Le personnage principal est le *moissonneur-monosandalos*. Il y a en fait deux grands moissonneurs au premier plan de l'image. Ils n'ont aucun des deux un visage. Ils sont une personnification du «Moissonneur» à deux phases différentes de son existence. Celui du côté gauche, vu de dos, moissonne dans la force, dans la fleur de l'âge. Sa faux croise celle du moissonneur affalé sous le coup de l'ivresse, telle une poire pourrie. Mais le vin qu'il a bu est aussi annonciateur de vie nouvelle.¹⁰⁴ Confer la fonction d'échanson. La mort symbolique est caractérisée par le monticule de tiges mortes, fauchées, sur lequel le moissonneur est assis, et par le fait que sa faux, l'arme du crime, gît désormais, désœuvrée, sur sa jambe.

Il est encore aveugle à la vie nouvelle qui éclôt à droite en la personne d'un autre aveugle. Celui-ci porte la nouvelle récolte de céréales et de légumes dans un *liknon* sur sa tête dissimulée ou inexistante ainsi que dans une corbeille à son bras.¹⁰⁵ Ce sont là des réminiscences des mystères de Dionysos. À droite, dans le haut de l'image, tout le paysage baigne dans la lumière aveuglante d'une nouvelle aube.

Dans cette gravure, Bruegel souligne de manière saisissante que, pour son époque également, l'idée de «mourir et ressusciter» remonte à une observation de la nature, de la «Terre Mère». Tout cela n'est pas écrit dans la légende de la gravure mais comme représenté dans un langage secret qui ne peut être déchiffré que par ceux qui ont des yeux pour voir. Et il devait sûrement y en avoir à l'époque de Bruegel.

Nous devons attirer l'attention sur un point. À ma connaissance, nous ne trouvons nulle part dans l'Antiquité un *monosandalos* dans un état aussi pitoyable qu'ici. La manière dont le moissonneur, bizarrement vêtu, s'est affalé à force de s'imbiber de vin, est choquante. Ceci donne une dimension supplémentaire à la signification, celle du statut social. Il appartient à la lie de la société.

Ceci nous ramène au début de ce chapitre. À l'ancienne signification du port d'une chaussure unique s'est ajouté progressivement un autre sens. Dans l'Antiquité, un *monosandalos* indiquait un «rite de passage». D'un pied on se trouvait encore dans

¹⁰³ Pour le «bonhomme feuillage», voir Dumézil G., 1998, 85/6.

¹⁰⁴ Héraclès était ivre lui aussi lorsqu'il insuffla une vie nouvelle à Augè. Voir la phialé d'Augè, Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, 176 sq. Précisons que ce n'était pas lui le *monosandalos*, mais bien Augè. Tout est une question d'accentuation.

¹⁰⁵ Pour le *liknon*, voir Horn H.G., 1972, 56 sq.

l'ancienne situation, tandis que de l'autre on était déjà dans la situation suivante ou en route vers celle-ci. Ce n'était donc pas une base solide.

A la Renaissance, cette même position instable est aussi interprétée dans le sens de ne pas être solidement campé sur ses deux jambes dans la société parce qu'on se trouve au bas de l'échelle sociale. Cela concernait les gens qui exerçaient une activité de domestique, une profession méprisée ou n'avaient pas de travail. Le *monosandalos* n'avait donc pas le sens de «mourir et ressusciter».

Les deux sens ne s'excluaient pas nécessairement. Le moissonneur de la gravure de Bruegel en est la preuve évidente. Cette dualité est déjà très subtilement présente dans la statuette de la danseuse de pantomime (Fig. 17).

Pour les successeurs de BELLICUS, c'est une triste fin. Nous devons toutefois garder à l'esprit que lui ne représentait pas un soldat ordinaire. La piétaille, les mercenaires des temps ultérieurs sont tombés au plus bas de l'échelle sociale. Ils font partie de ceux qui n'ont pas de base solide. Ils sont vêtus à moitié richement et à moitié misérablement, de la même manière qu'un moissonneur peut être une fleur et une poire pourrie.

FIN

La stèle funéraire de Bellicus *monosandalos* est devenue, grâce aux attributs qui l'accompagnent, le sujet d'une vaste étude. La raison en est que nous devons nous rendre compte qu'en soi, le personnage du *monosandalos* n'a qu'une seule signification fixe, à savoir celle d'une sonnette d'alarme, parce qu'il représente en principe un «rite de passage», de quelque genre que ce soit.

En voyant un *monosandalos*, on doit toujours se demander: «Que se passe-t-il ici?» Ce sont les attributs qui accompagnent le *monosandalos* qui doivent nous aider à identifier le passage précis dont il est question à chaque fois. Il y a un sens général, qui est: «Mourir et ressusciter». Chaque transition marque une fin et un nouveau début. La mort peut être envisagée symboliquement ou non.

Les événements évoqués peuvent être de différentes natures. Ils peuvent être personnels. Il nous faut alors distinguer deux catégories. Il peut s'agir d'un changement survenant une seule fois, comme dans le cas de figures légendaires telles qu'Augè et Jason et chez des personnages comme Toutânkhamon lors de son changement de religion ou encore chez Othon lorsqu'il est proclamé empereur. Avec des dieux, il peut être question d'événements ou de situations qui ne concernent qu'eux, comme dans le cas d'Héphaïstos boiteux, ou d'une preuve d'accès-

sion au monde d'en haut et d'en bas comme chez Dionysos et Asclépios.

L'autre catégorie, celle des caractérisations, se rapporte à des schémas fixes récurrents dans la vie de tout être humain, schémas qui sont liés à son évolution d'enfant à adulte, dans toutes sortes de gradations, jusqu'au dernier et principal passage, celui où l'on quitte la vie.

Il en va différemment des événements non personnels mais généraux qui renvoient aux lois séculaires de répétition dans le cosmos et la nature, l'alternance du jour et de la nuit, l'alternance des saisons en rapport avec la fécondité nouvelle. Marie Delcourt a démontré que, dans l'Antiquité, on considérait que le plus terrible fléau que les dieux pouvaient envoyer aux hommes était la stérilité totale. Ainsi déclare-t-elle:

«La fécondité éternelle de la terre et des espèces vivantes a été, pour les anciens, la grande espérance. Leur crainte a été de voir cette fécondité s'arrêter ou dévier. Aussi, lorsqu'ils sentent les dieux en colère, le châtement le plus terrible qu'ils puissent redouter, c'est la stérilité sous ses trois aspects: stérilité végétale, animale, humaine.»¹⁰⁶

Le monde ne doit pas et ne peut pas disparaître. Il se renouvelle avec une régularité immuable dans tous les aspects de la vie. «Mourir et ressusciter» constitue une unité.

Notre simple personnage, homme ou femme, ne portant qu'une seule chaussure est une image de ce processus. C'est précisément cette pure simplicité sous une forme anthropomorphe – car nous, êtres humains, avons besoin d'une forme tangible, une image, une histoire ou une parabole pour transmettre et comprendre correctement une idée – qui rend un *monosandalos* tellement riche de possibilités. C'est la force de la représentation. Il peut sans cesse s'adapter à chaque situation. Celle-ci est, quant à elle, évoquée par les attributs qui accompagnent le *monosandalos*. Ainsi l'étude d'un *monosandalos* se raccroche-t-elle aux études les plus diverses sur l'histoire des civilisations.

C'est d'ailleurs en raison de sa faculté d'adaptation illimitée que le *monosandalos* s'est perpétué depuis Toutânkhamon (première occurrence connue de moi) jusqu'à Cendrillon. Chaque nouvelle découverte nécessitera une compréhension de la civilisation de l'époque en question et/ou du lieu de provenance de l'artiste qui a créé le *monosandalos*. Un exemple éloquent nous est donné par P. Bruegel l'Ancien. Il utilise le motif du *monosandalos* de toutes sortes de manières différentes : pour souligner

¹⁰⁶ Delcourt M., 1986, 10.



Fig. 20. «Le Triomphe du Temps», gravure d'après Pieter Bruegel l'Ancien, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Bruxelles.

la hâte, le passage à une fécondité nouvelle et la position sociale inférieure.

Il existe en outre une gravure d'après Bruegel représentant «le Triomphe du Temps» (Fig. 20).¹⁰⁷ Saturne, en train de dévorer son propre enfant, se tient en *monosandalos* sur un char équipé de roues avant en bois et de roues arrière faites de jeunes rameaux et tiré par un cheval blanc portant le signe du soleil et un cheval noir marqué du signe de la lune. Cette représentation mérite à elle seule une étude, tout comme Bruegel d'ailleurs de ce point de vue également, lui qui joue avec toutes les possibilités.

Nous avons vu qu'un *monosandalos* peut être l'image de l'être le plus vil de la société, celui dont les jambes chancellent, celui qui n'a plus de base stable. Terminons par l'inverse, à savoir qu'un *monosandalos* en guenilles peut être la caractérisation de l'être humain qui a réussi à s'élever des profondeurs. Je fais allusion au thème du «Fils prodigue». Le Dr. G. Liagre a eu la gentillesse de me signaler que, dans les milieux théologiques, le Fils prodigue

est considéré comme une image de l'*HOMO VIATOR*, l'homme sur le chemin de l'existence qui, dans ce récit, revient en tant que fils prodigue au Père après avoir mené une vie de pécheur. Il ne porte pas de nom, il est donc un type. Rembrandt l'a représenté à son retour en *monosandalos* dans un tableau conservé à l'Ermitage de Saint-Petersbourg.¹⁰⁸ Le Père se tient de face. Il étreint son fils, agenouillé devant lui, que nous voyons de dos. Sur ce dos reposent les mains du Père. Le fils dénué de tout, en guenilles, n'a plus qu'un seul bien, son «épée», signe de son origine noble. Ce détail indique à lui seul qu'il s'agit d'une représentation symbolique. A ma connaissance, on n'a jusqu'à présent jamais accordé une attention particulière au fait que le fils ne porte qu'une seule chaussure. Celle de son pied gauche dénué se trouve entre ses deux pieds. Tout au plus a-t-on interprété cet élément comme un signe de

¹⁰⁷ Freedberg D., 1989, 186/7.

¹⁰⁸ Haak B., 1969/1990, fig. 550, 550a, 328/9; Nouwen H., 1991, 53.

pauvreté. Selon moi, le fils, en tant que *monosandalos*, est la caractérisation de «L'homme», l'*homo viator*, qui a quitté le mal pour revenir au bien, comme il est écrit dans le Nouveau Testament (Luc 15, 32): «...car ton frère était mort, et il est revenu à la vie...».

Hormis le fait que, en tant qu'être humain, nous parcourons la vie «clopin-clopant», passant d'un stade à l'autre, ceci est une image de ce qui pourrait nous arriver en tant qu' «*Homo Viator*», en tant que

MONOSANDALOS.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Adhémar J., 1939, Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français, Recherches sur les sources et les thèmes d'inspiration, *Studies of the Warburg Institute* 7, London.
- Avi-Yonah M., 1933, Mosaic Pavements in Palestine, *QDAP* II, 136-181, III, 26-73.
- Babelon M.E., 1894, Communication, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 199-201.
- Baumann P., 1999, *Spätantike Stifter im heiligen Land*, Wiesbaden.
- Bieber M., 1939, Mima Saltatricula, *AJA*, XLIII, 640-644.
- Bieber M., 1961, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton Univ. Press.
- Brellich A., 1955-1957, Les Monosandales, *La Nouvelle Clio*, VII-IX, 469-484.
- Bruneau Ph., 1980, L'Arès Borghèse et l'Arès d'Alcamène ou De l'opinion et du raisonnement, *Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, 177-199.
- Bruneau Ph., 1987, *Le triskèle dans l'art grec, Mélanges offerts au Docteur J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu, Le Léopard d'Or*, 145-154.
- Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford L., 1989, Stijl, vorm en decoratie van de vazen uit Rogozen, *De Thracische Koningsschat*, 21-27, ed. S.D.U. Amsterdam.
- Capdeville G., 1995, *Volcanus, Recherches comparatistes sur les origines du culte de Vulcain*, Paris, Roma.
- Catalogue 1967, *Toutankhamon et son temps, Exposition Petit Palais, Paris, 2^e éd.*
- Catalogus 1993, *Hofkunst van de Sassaniden*, Brussel.
- Cvetković-Tomašević G., M. Medić, 1967, Mosaic pavements in the narthex of the large basilica, *Heraclea* III, 9-87, Bitola.
- Cvetković-Tomašević G., 1971, Bibliographie, *Byz. Zeitschrift* 64.
- Cvetković-Tomašević G., 1975, Bibliographie, *Byz. Zeitschrift* 68.
- Cvetković-Tomašević G., 1975, Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis. Notices préliminaires. *La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine* 2 (Vienne, 30 août-4 sept. 1971, 2^o colloq. int. pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique) 385-389, Paris.
- Danckert W., (1961) 1979, *Unehrliche Leute, Die verfemten Berufe*, Bern, München.
- Davis E.N., 1983, The Iconography of the Ship Fresco of Thera, *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, 3-14, Univ. of Wisconsin Press.
- Davis E.N., 1986, Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes, *AJA* XC, 4, 399-406.
- Delcourt M., 1957, *Héphaïstos ou La légende du magicien*, Paris.
- Delcourt M., (1938 Liège) 1986, *Stérilités mystérieuses & naissances maléfiques dans l'antiquité classique*, Paris.
- Deonna W., 1935, *Μονοζρηπιδες*, *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, CXII, 50-72.
- Deonna W., 1953, *Le symbolisme de l'acrobatie antique*, Coll. Latomus IX.
- Deonna W., 1959, *Un divertissement de table, «A cloche-pied»*, Coll. Latomus XL.
- Dumas Ch., 1992, *The Wall-paintings of Thera*, Athens.
- Dumézil G., (1924) 1998, *Le crime des Lemniennes*, éd. B. Leclercq-Neveu, Paris.
- Dunbabin K.M.D., 1978, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa, Studies in Iconography and Patronage*, Oxford.
- Dunbabin K.M.D., 1990, Ipsa deae vestigia... Footprints divine and human on Graeco-Roman monuments, *JRA* 3, 85-109.
- Dunbabin K.M.D., 1999, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge.
- Duval P.-M., 1953, Notes sur la civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Vulcain et les métiers du métal, *Gallia* T. X, 1952.
- Ekschmitt W., 1993, *DIE KYKLADEN, Bronzezeit, Geometrische und Archaische Zeit*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Eliade M., 1956, *Forgerons et Alchimistes*, Paris.
- Eliade M., (1967) 1974, *Gods, Goddesses and myths of creation*, New York.
- Eliade M., (1959) 1976, *Initiation, rites, sociétés secrètes*, éd. Gallimard.
- Eliade M., (1952) 1991, *Images and Symbols*, Princeton Univ. Press.
- Esperandieu E., 1911, *Recueil général des Bas-Reliefs, Statues et Bustes de la Gaule romaine*, IV, Paris.
- Ettinghausen R., 1972, *From Byzantium to Sassanian Iran and the Islamic World*, Leiden.
- Fol A., 1999, Thracië en Hellas, *De Thracische Koningsschat*, 41-45, ed. S.D.U. Amsterdam.
- Forcellini A., 1940, *Lexicon totius latinitatis*.
- Forcellini A., 1913-1920, *Onomasticon totius latinitatis*.
- Forrer R., 1943, Die Mittelalter- und Renaissance-«Einschuhigen» als Ueberkommnis aus der Antike. *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgesch.* 5, Heft I, 52/3.
- Frey L. & O.-H. Frey, 1998, Grächwil, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* Bd. 12, 527-529, Berlin.
- Freedberg D., 1989, *The prints of Pieter Breugel the Elder, Catalogue* 78.
- Gabolde M., 1998, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânchamon*, Paris.
- Gergova D., 1989, De begraven schat, *De Thracische Koningsschat*, 36-39, ed. S.D.U. Amsterdam.
- Goggräfe A., 1999, Die Jagd-Bilder der Wint Hill-Werkstatt, Parallelen und Vorbilder, *Römische Glaskunst und Wandmalerei, Sonderband der Antiken Welt*, 113-128.
- Grabar A., 1966, Un thème de l'iconographie chrétienne: l'oiseau dans la cage, *Cah. Arch.* XVI, 9-15.

- Grabar A., (1969) 1980, *Christian Iconography, A Study of its Origins*, Washington.
- Haak B., (1969) 1990, *Rembrandt, Zijn leven, zijn werk, zijn tijd*. Brussel, Amsterdam.
- Harper P.O. & P. Meyer, 1981, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period*.
- Harper P.O., 1993, Metalen Vaatwerk, *Catalogus: Hofkunst van de Sassaniden, 95-III, Tentoonstelling Brussel*.
- Hartner W. & R. Ettinghausen, 1964, The conquering lion, the life cycle of a symbol, *Oriens* Vol. 17, 161-171.
- Hatt J.J., 1970, Les croyances funéraires des Gallo-Romains d'après la décoration des tombes, *RAE*, XXI, fasc. 1-2, 7-97.
- Hintlian K., 1976, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem.
- Horn H.G., 1972, *Mysteriënsymboliek auf dem Kölner Dionysosmosaik*, Bonn.
- Jucker H., 1973, Altes und Neues zur Grächwilser Hydria, *Zur Griechischen Kunst, Hassjörg zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 5 juli 1972*, 42-62, Bern.
- Klein W., 1909, Die Aufforderung zum Tanz, *Zeitsch. f. Bildende Kunst* N.F. XX, 4, 101-108.
- Koehl R.B., 1986, The cheftaincup and a minoan rite of passage, *JHS*, CVI, 99-110.
- Levi D., 1947, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* I-II.
- LIMC, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.
- Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1980, La «Dame de Carthage», *BABesch*, 55, 231-244.
- Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1988, L'Oiseau au ruban rouge autour du cou, La fonction apotropaïque des motifs naturalistes et géométriques, *BABesch* 63, 141-164.
- Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1990, Les mosaïques à Khirbat Al-Mafjar près de Jericho, *BABesch* 65, 123-138.
- Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1994, Le *Monosandalos* dans l'Antiquité, *BABesch* 69, 175-197.
- Loos-Dietz E.P. de, 1998, Traces de l'Antiquité, Deux femmes, *monosandaloi*, sur un relief du XII^e siècle à Toulouse, *BABesch* 73, 152-175.
- Marinatos N., 1984, *Art and Religion in Thera, Reconstructing a bronze age Society*, Athens.
- Mazarov S., 1989, Nieuw Inzicht in de Thracische cultuur, *De Thracische Koningsschat*, 29-35, S.D.U. Amsterdam.
- Mellinkoff R., 1993, *Outcasts : Signs of otherness in Northern European Art of the late Middle Age*, 2 Volumes, California Press.
- Mertens V., 1983, *Mi-parti als Zeichen*, (Kulturgesch. Forschungen, Bd. I.), Remscheid.
- Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1967-1968, Le drame des deux étoiles du matin et du soir dans l'ancien orient, *Persica* III, 10-36.
- Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1968, Les origines du mythe animalier de la Planète Vénus, *Mél. de l'Univ. Saint-Joseph*, T. XLIV, fasc. 4, 33-48, Beyrouth.
- Mesnil du Buisson R. du, 1970, *Etudes sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'empire romain*, Leiden.
- Nerzic Ch., 1989, *La sculpture en Gaule Romaine*, Paris.
- Nikolov B., 1989, De Thracische Koningsschat, *De Thracische Koningsschat* 15-19, S.D.U. Amsterdam.
- Nouwen H., 1991, *Eindelijk thuis, Gedachten bij Rembrandts «De Terugkeer van de verloren zoon»*, Tilt.
- Øystein Hjort A., 1968, L'Oiseau dans la cage : exemples médiévaux à Rome, *Cah. Arch.* XVIII, 21-32.
- Pastoureau M., 1986, *Figures et couleurs, Etude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales*, Ed. Le Léopard d'Or.
- Piccirillo M., 1981, *Chiese e Mosaici della Giordania Settentrionale*, Jerusalem.
- Piccirillo M., 1986, *I Mosaici di Giordania, catalogo*, Roma.
- Piccirillo M., 1986, *Byzantinische Mosaiken aus Jordanien*, Katalog des Nö. Landesmuseum, Neue Folge, Nr. 178, Wien.
- Reinach S., 1894, *Antiquités nationales, description raisonnée du musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye*.
- Roux J.P., 1971, Le taureau sauvage maîtrisé, Recherches sur l'iconographie médiévale du Proche-Orient, *Syria* 48, 187-201.
- Schober A., 1923, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*, Wien.
- Seton-Williams M.V., 1980, *Het goud van Toetanchamon*, Alphen aan den Rijn.
- Spiesz K. von, 1937, Die Hasenjagd, *Marksteine der Volkskunst* I, 243-267.
- Strzygowski J., 1936, *Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der Kunst*.
- Thesaurus linguae latinae*, 1902-1904.
- Viroleaud Ch., 1937, La déesse Anat, Poème de Ras Shamra, *Syria* 18, 85-102.
- Walter H., 1974, *La sculpture funéraire Gallo-Romaine en Franche-Comté*, Paris.
- Weisbach W., 1942, «Ein Fusz beschuht der ander nackt», Bemerkungen zu einigen Handzeichnungen des Urs Graf, *Zeitsch. für Schweizerische Archeol. und Kunstgesch.* Bd. 4, Heft 1, 108-122, Basel.
- Willetts R.F., 1962, *Cretan Culis and Festivals*, London.

AVRIL 2001
SIJSJESLAAN 17
B 3078 EVERBERG

Die nördliche Exedra des *Templum Pacis* und ihre Nutzung während des Faschismus

Sylvia Diebner

In der seit einiger Zeit durch neue Ausgrabungen wieder in Schwung geratenen Diskussion über Ausdehnung, Aussehen und nachantike Geschichte der Kaiserforen (*Abb. 1*),¹ gerät ein gegenüber der Via dei Fori Imperiali leicht zurückgesetzter mittelalterlicher Turm, die Torre de' Conti (*Abb. 2*) wieder ins Blickfeld: nutzt der Turm doch, wie 1934 Antonio Maria Colini, damals Assistent des Generalinspektors der Antiken und der Schönen Künste,² erkannt hat, die nördliche der vier jeweils zum Platzbereich hin geöffneten Exedren des *Templum Pacis*.³ Als dieser Raum im Januar 1936 von Erdmassen befreit wurde, stieß man in sechzehn Meter Tiefe auf den originalen Fußboden, der mit Marmorplatten besetzt war.⁴ Ein im Rahmen neuzeitlicher Nutzung des Turminnen auf Straßenniveau eingezogener Zwischenboden wurde damals abgetragen, Spuren seiner ehemaligen Existenz sind heute noch sichtbar.⁵ Dank einer im Zusammenhang mit den genannten Arbeiten von G. Gatti ausgeführten Bauaufnahme⁶ ließ sich sicherstellen, daß die zum Forumsplatz geöffnete, westliche Seite der Exedra im Hochmittelalter zugesetzt worden war. Diese Wand, wie Colini berichtet,⁷ war zu seiner Zeit nur von außen her sichtbar; sie ist mit Blöcken aus schwarzem Marmor und Tuff (selce) verkleidet worden.⁸ Aus der Restaurierungsphase der 30er Jahre stammen im Inneren der Exedra auch die auf drei Kämpferpaaren ruhenden Voltenbänder; zwei auf unterschiedlichem Niveau befindliche, wohl zu ehemals im Turm vorhandenen Zwischengeschossen gehörende Türen, wurden zugesetzt. Die im oberen Teil der Westwand befindlichen, großen rechteckigen Fenster, die die einzige natürliche Lichtquelle des wiedergewonnenen antiken Raumes im Untergeschoß darstellen,⁹ stammen aus jenen Jahren.

Im Folgenden werden wir das Augenmerk auf einen Aspekt des 'Nachlebens' des Turms und einen Moment seiner Wiedernutzung in der Neuzeit richten, also weder den neuen Grabungsergebnissen im Bereich des *Templum Pacis* noch der langen und bewegten Geschichte des einst höchsten, das Stadtbild über Jahrhunderte bestimmenden Turms nachgehen.¹⁰ Im Zentrum der Betrachtungen stehen vor allem Ereignisse und Entwicklungen der 30er Jahre des 20. Jhs.: tiefgreifende urbanistische Gestaltungen, die schließlich in der Verwirklichung der Via dell'Impero (der heutigen Via dei Fori Imperiali)

gipfelten,¹¹ galten in diesem zentralen Stadtgebiet vorrangig den Kaiserforen und der Maxentiusbasilika; der Turmstumpf und seine engere Umgebung wurden Lage bedingt in diese Eingriffe miteinbezogen.

Geschichte und Vorgeschichte¹² der hastigen Ausgrabungen im Bereich der Kaiserforen (Augustusforum: 1924-1930,¹³ Trajansforum: 1928-1934,¹⁴ Caesarforum: 1930,¹⁵ Via dei Fori Imperiali 1932¹⁶) sowie die im Zusammenhang mit der neuen Achse Colosseum – Palazzo Venezia erzwungene Abtragung der Velia¹⁷ und die Bereinigung und *sistemazione* der die neue Straße säumenden Seiten¹⁸

¹ AA. VV. 1983, passim. Besonders: Racheli 1983, 61-163. Meneghini-Milella 1989, 541-559. Messa-Ungaro 1989, 199-214. Meneghini-Messa-Ungaro 1990, passim. Meneghini 1991. Amici 1991. I luoghi del consenso imperiale 1995. Bauer 1996, 81-100. Ungaro 1997. Meneghini 1998A, 127-148. Meneghini 1998B, 127-135. Rizzo-Santangeli Valenzani 1999, 5-20.

² Neuester Beitrag zu Colini und vor allem zu seiner Tätigkeit in jenen Jahren: La Rocca 13-26. Kurze Biographie von A. Muñoz in: Cederna XIX-XX. Weniger kritisch: Ridley 1986, 44.

³ Colini 1937, 7-40.

⁴ Colini 1937, 14.

⁵ Cusanno 1995, 129 Abb. 9.

⁶ Colini 1937, 25 Abb. 14.

⁷ Colini 1937, 26.

⁸ Cusanno 1988, 34. Die Autorin vermutet (zu Unrecht) eine erst um 1950 vorgenommene Verkleidung, nimmt diese Äußerung jedoch später (Cusanno 1995, 128) kommentarlos zurück.

⁹ Cusanno 1995, 128 mit Abb. 8 (während der Konstruktion).

¹⁰ Krautheimer 224, 227, 294, 303, 336, 344, 347. Bauer passim. Bibliographie in Colini passim; in Cusanno 1988, 32-45 und Cusanno 1995, 125-130. Archeologia nel centro storico 1986, 15-60.

¹¹ ROMACENTRO 1986, 69-72.

¹² Zu den Generalbebauungsplänen der Jahre 1873 und 1883, der Generalvariante von 1925-26 und des Generalbebauungsplanes vom 16. 7. 1931 s. Fraticelli 1982, 357-363. Rizzo 1991, 150-151.

¹³ Ridley 1986, 21-23.

¹⁴ Ridley 1986, 30. Ungaro 1995, 39-46.

¹⁵ Rizzo 1995, 47-2 mit Abb. 7.

¹⁶ Ridley 1986, 34-35.

¹⁷ Pisani Sartorio 1991, 152-153.

¹⁸ Allgemein: Atkinson 1996, 39-51. Von 1929 datieren zwei Entwürfe des Architekten Vincenzo Fasolo zur 'sistemazione' des Straßenteils zwischen Via Cavour und dem Colosseum; dazu Fasolo 1995, 95 (beide seitenverkehrt wiedergegeben). Zur Gruppe 'La Burbera': Fraticelli 1982, 412-424. Insolera-Perego 1983, 50-51, Abb. 36-37. Aus dem Jahr 1931 stammt eine Zeichnung von A. Muñoz mit dem künstlichen Prospekt der Aufschüttung des ehem. Gartens der Villa Rivaldi: ROMACENTRO 1986, 69 (Mitte). Auch abgebildet in: Muñoz 1935,

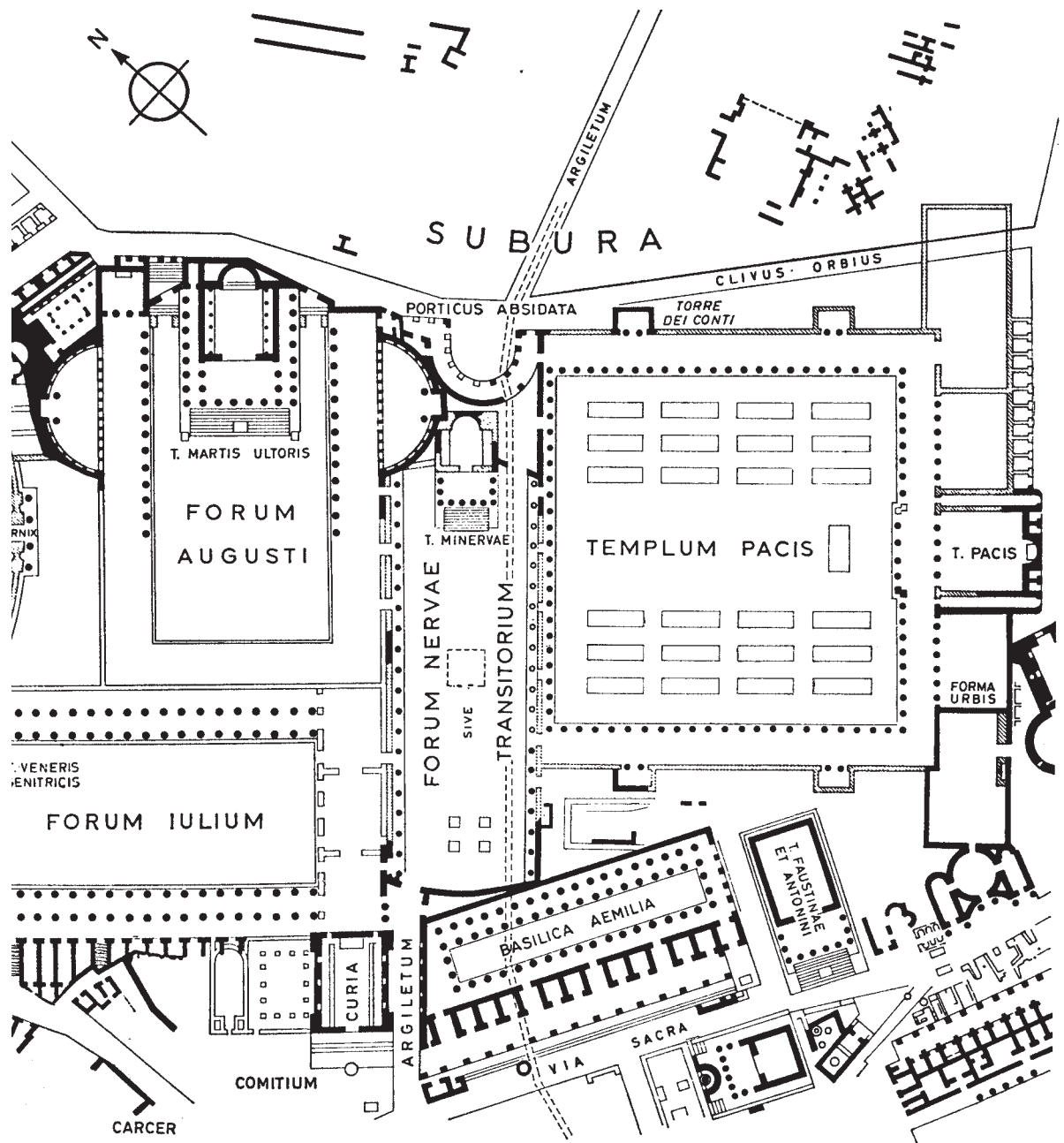


Abb. 1. Rom, Grundriß der Kaiserforen. Aus: P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum (Monumenta Artis Antiquae II)* Tübingen 1969, Faltplan (Ausschnitt).

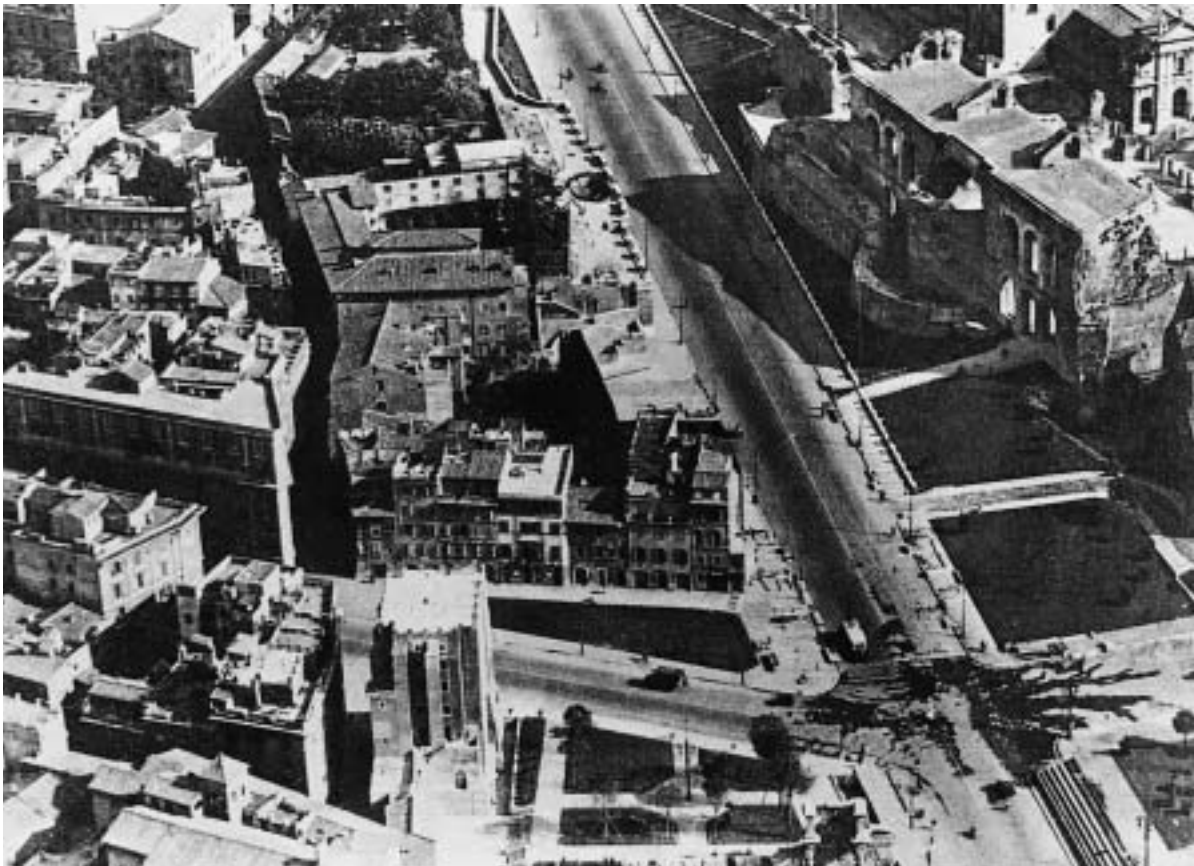


Abb. 2. Rom, Torre de'Conti: Luftaufnahme 1935. Aus: Archeologia nel Centro Storico. Mostra Roma Castel S. Angelo (1986) 38.



Abb. 3. Rom, Torre de'Conti: Im Mai 1937. Aus: Ardito D'Italia, Maggio 1937, Frontespiz ('mit Genehmigung des Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali' vom 15. 05. 2001. Reproduktion verboten).

sind in den letzten Jahren verstärkt Gegenstand von Beiträgen aus archäologischer, historischer und architektonischer Sicht gewesen¹⁹ und werden als bekannt vorausgesetzt.²⁰ Ebenfalls machte man sich über eine moderne Nutzung dieser zentralen 'area archeologica' Gedanken.²¹

Als Mussolini am 28. Oktober 1932, dem zehnten Jahrestag des Marsches auf Rom, nach nur 11-monatiger Bauzeit die 900 m lange Via dell'Impero einweihte,²² war die Seitenbegrenzung der Straße beim heutigen Largo Corrado Ricci noch nicht endgültig entschieden.²³ Zeitgenössische Photographien zeigen die noch von neuzeitlichen Bauten umgebene Torre de'Conti (der endgültige Abriß dieser Gebäude erfolgte erst 2 Jahre später²⁴), die auf die Via dell'Impero einmündende Via Cavour und die an der Ecke mit der Via del Tempio della Pace bereits erstellte Stützmauer des ex giardino Rivaldi.²⁵ Wie dankenswerter Weise Anna Maria Cusanno durch eingehende Recherchen in den städtischen römischen Archiven hat rekonstruieren können,²⁶ handelte es sich bei diesen abgetragenen Gebäuden um reine Spekulationsobjekte aus der zweiten Hälfte der 80er Jahre des 19. Jhs.²⁷ Die von einem gewissen Niccolini angekaufte Torre de'Conti sollte, zusammen mit dem nebenan befindlichen und ihm bereits gehörenden Palazzo, ein *condominio per abitazioni*²⁸ werden, eine höchst lukrative Angelegenheit, da nach der Einigung Italiens und der Bestimmung Roms zur Hauptstadt große Wohnungsknappheit herrschte.²⁹ Die im Turmbereich für diese neue Bestimmung notwendigen Eingriffe, wie Einbau neuer Zwischengeschosse, Einziehung zahlreicher Wände, Öffnung neuer Fenster, Erhöhung des Ganzen um eine Etage, und schließlich in jedem Stockwerk Einrichtung galerieartiger offener Übergänge von einem Haus zum anderen, stellten eine massive strukturelle Veränderung der Bausubstanz dar. Die *Comune di Roma* forderte den Besitzer zur Beseitigung dieser Eingriffe auf, doch nichts geschah. Im Verlauf des wirtschaftlichen Niedergangs im Bausektor am Ende der 80er Jahre³⁰ wechselte der Komplex den Besitzer: die *Cassa di Risparmio di Milano* kaufte das Anwesen und besaß es noch im Jahre 1908. Weitere Einzelheiten sind uns unbekannt. Das gesamte Grundstück gehörte jedoch zu den im erweiterten Generalbebauungsplan (*Piano Regolatore Generale*) Roms von 1931³¹ zum Abriß bestimmten Bereichen und im Sommer 1934 wurden die an den Turm angelehnten Gebäude niedergelegt.³² Laut Cusanno existieren nur einige wenige Skizzen und Bilder von dem, was damals an mittelalterlichen Spuren aufgedeckt wurde oder an Bauten zum Vorschein kam, die auf mittelalterlichen Resten fußen.³³ Das Innere des Turms wurde stabilisiert und saniert; das erste *Make up* galt natürlich der Herrichtung der auf die neue Hauptstraße gerichteten

Fassade, auf der die häßlichen Eingriffe vom Ende des vorhergehenden Jahrhunderts besonders in Augenschein traten. A. Muñoz unterbreitete zwei Vorschläge, wobei der erste sofort ausgeschieden,³⁴ der zweite vor Dezember 1937³⁵ realisiert wurde und mit den kleinen und unregelmäßig über die Wand verteilten Fenstern noch heute unverändert das Bild dieser Turmseite prägt. Das seit der Nachkriegszeit von der Stadtverwaltung als 'Büroturm' verwendete Gebäude besitzt drei Eingänge, davon zwei am Largo Corrado Ricci. Der rechte davon ist zugestellt, vom linken aus führen eine Treppe und inzwischen auch ein Lift in die fünf Obergeschoße. Innerhalb des nur wenige Quadratmeter umfassenden Eingangsbereiches befindet sich linkerhand neben dem Fahrstuhl, in Höhe des zweiten Eingangs, eine verriegelte Stahltür. Wohin sie führt, wird noch zu klären sein. An der die Südseite des Turms flankierenden Via Tor de'Conti liegt eine unscheinbare Tür, immer fest verschlossen. Die Ansicht dieser Turmseite mit der Tür ist in einer um 1880 entstandenen Zeichnung³⁶ und ebenfalls in einer Skizze des Jahres 1937 festgehalten.³⁷ Wahrscheinlich ist dieser Zugang

94 (oben). In der endgültigen Ausführung ist die Ecklösung, unter Verzicht auf den Bogen, leicht verändert worden (Pisani Sartorio 1991, 153 (Abb. oben links).

¹⁹ Cederna 1979, passim.

²⁰ Interessant ist in jedem Falle, daß diese Epoche im entsprechenden Band der Guida Rionale di Roma mit keinem Wort berücksichtigt wird: Guida Rionale di Roma 18- 22(= Nr. 32)

²¹ Roma: Continuità dell'antico 1981, passim. ROMACENTRO 1986, passim. Benevolo 1985, passim. Interessant ist ein kurz nach dem Krieg (ca. 1947) datierter Entwurf von A. Luccichenti, V. Monaco, M. S. Grassetti für eine Neubebauung des ehemals für den Palazzo del Littorio vorgesehenen Areals (s. Archeologia nel centro storico 1986, 40 (zwei Abbildungen).

²² Luftaufnahme mit der entsprechenden Parade in Roma: Continuità dell'antico 1981, 94 Abb. 80.

²³ s. Luftaufnahmen vom November 1932: Muñoz 1935, 70-73.

²⁴ Cusanno 1995, 125.

²⁵ Muñoz 1935, 203 mit Abb. 215.

²⁶ Cusanno 1995, 125.

²⁷ Colini 1938, 15.

²⁸ Cusanno 1995, 125.

²⁹ Abbildung in: Archeologia nel centro storico 1986, Abbildungen S. 36 (oben); 37 (oben und unten).

³⁰ s. dazu Fraticelli 1982, 13-33.

³¹ Insolera-Perego 1983, 3-30 (Antefatti: 1870-1922). Griffige Zusammenstellung (mit Bibliographie) in: ROMACENTRO 1986, 65-66. Dort auch über vorhergehende Planungen (45-46).

³² Cusanno 1995, 126 Abb. 2. Luftaufnahme des nach Abriß frisch hergerichteten Areals (ca. 1935) in: Archeologia nel centro storico 1986, Abbildung auf S. 38 (unten).

³³ Cusanno 1995, 127 Abb. 3-5.

³⁴ Cusanno 1995, 128 Abb. 6.

³⁵ Cusanno 1995, 129.

³⁶ Cusanno 1988, 32 Abb. 12.

³⁷ Anno II, Marzo 1937, I, Taf. IV (Zeichnung: Vito Lombardi). Vgl. auch das Titelblatt der Zeitschrift L'Urbe Anno IV, 4 Aprile 1939: hier hat der Zeichner Micattola (?) wohl eine alte Skizze verwendet, da zu der Zeit der dem Turm anliegende Palazzo längst abgeräumt war.

neuzeitlichen Datums, gewährte Einlaß in das ehemals eingezogene Erdgeschoß, ein Zustand, der nicht dem heutigen entspricht, wie noch darzustellen sein wird.

Nach Abschluß der Restaurierungsmaßnahmen,³⁸ die dem Gebäude das uns vertraute Aussehen verliehen, ist am 21. April 1937 (*Natale di Roma*) der Nationale Verband der Arditi d'Italia (*Federazione Nazionale Arditi d'Italia*) (FNAI) in den Turm eingezogen (Abb. 3) und nutzte ihn fortan (bis 1943) als Versammlungs- und Verwaltungssitz.³⁹ Der Präsident des 1923 in Genua gegründeten Verbandes⁴⁰ war seit 1932 Alessandro Parisi, ein hochdekorierter *Ardito* des I. Weltkrieges. Die *Arditi*, eine Art von Sturmtruppen, ausgerüstet mit *moschetto*, Kurzdolch, Handgranaten und vor allem mit hart eintrainiertem Kampfesmut, hatten an allen Schlachten teilgenommen; ihren Aufgaben entsprechend mußten sie die gegnerischen Reihen aufbrechen; dadurch hatten sie hohe Verluste zu verzeichnen. Mit der Wahl des Turms als überregionalem Sitz der *Arditi* ganz Italiens wird die neue große Bedeutung, die man ihrem Verband zumaß, deutlich. Besonders in den Jahren zwischen 1932 und 1935, wie G. Rochat sehr eindringlich dargestellt hat, zeichnet sich eine deutliche Verschmelzung der *Arditi* mit dem Faschismus ab und das Regime belebt zu eigenen Zwecken den Mythos des *Arditismo* wieder.⁴¹ Von einer kämpferischen Begleiterscheinung des Faschismus wird der Verband zu einer organischen Struktur des Regimes selbst. In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu erwähnen, daß der Verband ab 16. Juni 1932 eine neue, recht aufwendig gestaltete und reich illustrierte Zeitung (*'Arditi D'Italia'*) herausgab, mit deren Hilfe man den beim großen Publikum weitgehend noch von den Aktionen im Ersten Weltkrieg bestimmten Ruf der *Arditi* als Kampftruppe abzuschwächen und durch ein positives und dynamisches Bild der FNAI zu ersetzen suchte.⁴² Die Zuweisung des Turms als einem Ort zentraler, ständig fortgeschriebener Erinnerung und eine vorrangige Präsenz an der neuen Prachtstraße, war eine heiß ersehnte⁴³ Anerkennung des *Arditismo* von Seiten des Duce.⁴⁴ Interessant ist die Begründung für die Wahl des Turms: es wird seine Robustheit, seine Uneinnehmbarkeit und seine lange Geschichte hervorgehoben. Weiterhin heißt es:⁴⁵ '...nach den Eingriffen von Mussolini erhebt sich der Turm aufs Neue (d. h. wie im Mittelalter) *nel suo magnifico isolamento*'. Das Kriterium der Herausschälung und Befreiung eines Monumentes aus seinem gewachsenen Umfeld ist seit den 20er Jahren für die Bereinigung antiker Gebäude von nachantiken baulichen Eingriffen durchaus geläufig,⁴⁶ überrascht jedoch für ein mittelalterliches Bauwerk. Daß es sich bei der Zuweisung des Turms an die *Arditi* um ein politisch wichtiges

Ereignis handelte, wird auch aus der Zeremonie deutlich, die nicht nur eine Einweihung mit militärischen Vorzeichen unter Vorsitz des Gouverneurs von Rom, Fürst Colonna, darstellte, sondern auch eine feierliche Schlüsselübergabe an den Präsidenten des Verbandes, Alessandro Parisi, miteinschloß. Der Turm, der der *ingiuria del tempo e degli uomini* standgehalten hat, wird verglichen mit den *Arditi*, die im Kriege nicht vor den Gegnern gewichen sind. Im Übergabeprotokoll ist erwähnt, daß sie zuletzt in Ostafrika bei der Gründung des 'Neuen Reiches' (*Nuovo Impero*) mitgeholfen haben. So hat ihr Sitz zwischen den Zeugen und Spuren des alten Rom seine Berechtigung. Parisi dankte im Namen aller *Arditi* Italiens und fügte hinzu: '*...su questa torre veglierà nel tempo lo spirito dei vivi ed in eterno lo spirito dei nostri morti*'.⁴⁷ In der Augustausgabe 1937 der Verbandszeitung *Ardito D'Italia*⁴⁸ wird zum ersten Mal die Medaille abgebildet, die zum 20. Jahrestag der Sturmtruppen von ihrem Verband geprägt worden ist und daran erinnert, daß der Duce den *Arditi* die Torre de' Conti zugewiesen hat (Abb. 4a-b). Auf der Vorderseite befindet sich das Mittelmotiv des Dolches mit dem Motto FERT, dem sog. Heraklesknoten (*laccio d'amore*) und der Wölfin, umgeben von Eichen- und Olivenzweig. Die Umschrift lautet: *AUDACIA IN IMPERIALI VIA DUCE JUBENTE ARX ITALICAE*. Auf der Rückseite der 3 cm Durchmesser großen und 3,50 Lire teuren Medaille ist die Torre de' Conti abgebildet mit der Umschrift *TURRIS COMITUM* und der Unterschrift 21 Aprile XV ([= 1937]).⁴⁹

³⁸ So Cusanno 1995, 129: vor Dezember 1937.

³⁹ Die Idee, den Turm als ein *pensionato per artisti* zu nutzen, war schließlich an dem durch die kleinen Fenster bedingten geringen Lichteinfall gescheitert (Cusanno 1995, 129). Zur Geschichte der *A(ssociazione) N(azionale) A(rditi) d'I(talia)*, bald *F(ederazione) N(azionale) A(rditi) d'I(talia)*: Rochat 117.

⁴⁰ Rochat 1999, 144.

⁴¹ Rochat 1999, 167-169.

⁴² Rochat 1999, 164.

⁴³ Der Fürst Valerio Pignatelli di Cerchiara, ein fratello d'armi, wie es heißt, war der Promotor (so: Colombini 1939, 30).

⁴⁴ Svagnoni 1938, 156-165. Colombini 1939, 115 (Zitat: '*Il Duce aveva concesso come nuova e degna sede gloriosa della Federazione degli Arditi d'Italia, quella medioevale torre dei Conti che la tradizione vuole invulnerata e invitta*').

⁴⁵ Svagnoni 1938, 161.

⁴⁶ Die entspr. Bibliographie ist immens. Schnell zugängliche Übersicht bei Ridley 1986, 20-46. Zum Augustusmausoleum: Brock 1995, 129-156.

⁴⁷ In eben dergleichen Intonation ist der Bericht über die Feierlichkeiten aus Anlaß der Beisetzung von A. Parisi im Sakrarium des Turms: s. Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia* Anno VI no. 76 September 1938, 8 ff: '*...luogo indistruttibile dove saranno definitivamente immortalati nomi come Sdricca di Manzano, San Gabriele, Col del Rosso, Piave, Sernaglia, Vittorio Veneto, Piazza San Sepolcro, Piazza Mercati A.O.I.*'

⁴⁸ Abbildung auf S. 4.

⁴⁹ Auffällig ist, daß sozusagen in direktem Nachklang der Zuweisung des mittelalterlichen Turms in Rom an die *Arditi*



Abb. 4a-b. Zum 20. Jahrestag (21. April 1937) der Gründung der Reparti d'assalto geprägte Münze.
Aus: *Ardito D'Italia*, Agosto 1937, 4 ('mit Genehmigung des Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali' vom 15. 05. 2001.
Reproduktion verboten).

Der Turm, den man sich durch Fahnschmuck aus der ihn umgebenden Ruinenlandschaft herausgehoben vorstellen muß,⁵⁰ erhielt mit seiner neuen Bestimmung einen festen Platz im aktuellen politischen Panorama: bei Aufmärschen und Paraden, untermalt von Marschmusik, werden Truppenteile und Staatsbesucher und bisweilen auch das Stadtpublikum hier für eine Ehrenerweisung Halt gemacht haben.

Wir wenden uns der Umgestaltung der antiken Exedra des *Templum Pacis* zu.

Mit der Entscheidung, den dunklen, kalten, unwirtlichen, 16 m hohen Raum⁵¹ im Untergeschoß des Turms in eine Memorialstätte der *Arditi* umzugestalten, gingen Überlegungen zu einer der neuen Funktion angemessenen Ausstattung einher, bei der man keinerlei Kosten scheute. Um dem unterirdischen Raum eine größere 'Weihe' und Intimität – wenn dieser Begriff bei den Ausmaßen des Ganzen überhaupt zutreffen kann – zu verleihen, wurde offenbar der vorhandene direkte Zugang von der Via Tor de' Conti her als nicht geeignet angesehen.⁵² Mit beträchtlichem Aufwand wurde vom Haupteingangsbereich aus, heutzutage linkerhand des Fahrstuhls, innerhalb der Turmsohle eine enge, auf halber Höhe rechtwinklig umbiegende gemauerte Treppe neu angelegt, über die man nur – einer nach dem anderen – in den unterirdischen Raum gelangen konnte. Dieser in der Regel von den Versammlungsbüros aus zugängliche reservierte und kontrollierbare Zugang

verlieh der Krypta eine Aura von Exklusivität und vermittelte den hier Zugelassenen das Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zu einer verschworenen Gemeinschaft. Diesen Eindruck steigerte man dadurch, daß die am Ende der Turmtreppe neu geschaffene Tür an ihrer Raumseite mit dünnen Peperinplatten verkleidet wurde, welche die antiken Quader der Exedra

in Florenz ein ebenfalls mittelalterlicher Turm als neuer Sitz der städtischen Abteilung der *Arditi* gewählt wird. Auch hier ist die Rede von der *antica e storica torre*. In diesem Falle handelt es sich um einen Münzturm (s. Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia* Juni 1938, 15, mit Foto des Turms in Florenz, Piazza Piave). Die Einweihung dieses Turms bildet sogar das Titelblatt der Zeitschrift im Dezember 1938. Der Turm wird als das 'Covo' (Nest / Versteck) der *Arditi* von Florenz bezeichnet, wobei der Name 'Covo' auf den ersten Sitz der *Arditi* in Mailand zurückgeht und es eigenartig anmutet, einen weithin sichtbaren Turm als 'Covo' zu benennen. In der Tat sind die 'Covi' in anderen Städten, auch wenn es sich nur um Zimmer innerhalb einer normalen Wohnung handelte, als Verstecke oder getarnte Höhlen verkleidet, immer in Erinnerung an die ersten Stunden der Organisation der *Arditi* (zahlreiche Bsp. in der Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia*).

⁵⁰ Zeichnung, in der eine übergroß wiedergegebene Fahne mit dem Emblem der *Arditi* vom Turm flattert (hier Abb. 3) (Svagnoni 1938, 160 Abb. 40) und *Ardito D'Italia*, Mai 1937. Vgl. auch Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia*, Juni 1937 Foto auf S. 14: kleiner Aufmarsch auf dem Turm, um die *Gagliardetti* zu zeigen (9. Mai 1937).

⁵¹ Bei einer Grundfläche von 9,80 Breite auf ca. 7 m Tiefe (Colini 1937, 23).

⁵² Zu größeren Veranstaltungen könnte von dieser Seite auch Laufpublikum eingelassen worden sein.

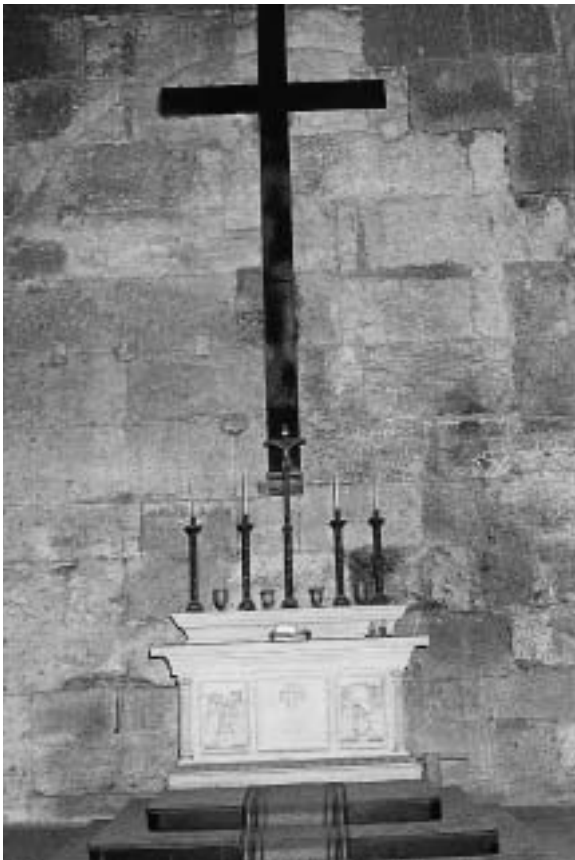


Abb. 5. Rom, Torre de' Conti: Nordwand der Exedra des Templum Pacis. Photo K. Anger.



Abb. 6. Rom, Torre de' Conti: Beisetzung von A. Parisi in der Exedra des Templum Pacis. Aus: *Giornale d'Italia*, 7. Agosto 1938, 8.

nachahmen. In geschlossenem Zustand ist sie nicht mehr als Zugang kenntlich. Bislang ließ sich nicht eindeutig klären, wie das Untergeschoß des Turmes bei seiner Einweihung dekoriert war. Vermutlich war der Raum zur Abhaltung von Erinnerungs-

messen für gefallene oder sonst verstorbene *Arditi* hergerichtet. Im Zeitungsbericht, der recht minutiös über die Beisetzung von A. Parisi Auskunft gibt,⁵³ ist von einer Wandverkleidung (*la parete*, welche? nur eine?) in Lanzenhöhe (wohl so um 1,70 m) aus schwarzem Marmor die Rede. Außerdem wird deutlich erwähnt, daß das Sakrarium noch nicht fertiggestellt ist (August / September 1938). Über dem Altar aus Travertin, so weiter der Zeitungsbericht, befindet sich ein Kurzdolch der *Arditi*, der sich in einen Felsblock des San Gabriele eintieft. Dieser Dolch projiziert auf die nackte Wand aus zyklischen Blöcken ein scharf geschnittenes Kreuz, das, so heißt es, das faßbare Zeichen des Glaubens an Gott und an das Vaterland ist. Von dieser Inszenierung ist außer Altar und Kreuz nichts mehr vorhanden (Abb. 5). Der noch heute existierende Fußbodenbelag aus schwarzen und weißen Mosaiksteinen mit einem rundumverlaufenden Flechtband scheint aus dieser ersten Einrichtungsphase zu stammen. Auf einem Pressefoto der Beisetzung von A. Parisi (Abb. 6) am 7. August 1938 ist er sichtbar, allerdings mit einem später veränderten Mittelembem.⁵⁴ Das ursprüngliche Mittelmotiv besaß in seiner vorderen Partie, in dem zu der der Tür gegenüberliegenden Wand mit Altar und Kreuz ausgerichteten Teil, einen Halbkreis mit eingeschriebener Raute.

Ein gutes Jahr nach seiner Einweihung erfährt der Sitz der *Arditi* eine zusätzliche politisch – religiöse Aufwertung: die Gedenkkrypta wird für den Präsidenten des Verbandes und General der *Arditi*, Alessandro Parisi, als Grabkammer (*cripta commemorativa*) hergerichtet; er wird hier in einem antiken Sarkophag bestattet. Eine Ehrung dieser Art stellt eine einzigartige offizielle Auszeichnung dar. Am 4. August 1938 war im Alter von 56 Jahren der aus Palermo gebürtige Parisi (Abb. 7) bei Porto Recanati (Marken) bei einem Autounfall schwer verletzt worden und am nächsten Morgen den Verletzungen des Unfalls erlegen.⁵⁵ Einiges läßt sich über seinen Lebenslauf zusammenstellen: der aus einer patriotisch gesinnten und im Bereich des Bauindustrie⁵⁶ seit mindestens 3 Generationen erfolgreich operierenden Familie stammende Parisi, war seit 1901 in der väterlichen Firma tätig, deren Führung er 1924, nach dem Tode seines Bruders, des Ingenieurs Pier Lorenzo, übernahm. 1905 war er in Rom in Jurisprudenz promoviert worden. Im fortgeschrittenen Alter von 33 Jahren findet er sich als Teilnehmer am

⁵³ Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia*, September 1938, 8-12.

⁵⁴ Zeitung: *Giornale d'Italia* 7. August 1938, 4.

⁵⁵ Rochat 1999, 172 Anm. 44.

⁵⁶ Firma SAVERIO PARISI (Saverio ist der Vorname des Vaters von Alessandro Parisi) (Colombini 1939, 15); später kommt dazu die Bank (Banco) SAVERIO PARISI.

I. Weltkrieg in der Reihe der *Arditi*, unter denen er sich besonders auszeichnet (drei Silbermedaillen 1917; Piave: 26. 10. 1918: Croce Cavaliere dell'Ordine Militare di Savoia). Im Januar 1919 bleibt Parisi ca. 6 Monate mit seinem *X Reparto d'Assalto* in Tripolitanien. Noch vor dem Marsch auf Rom trat er, wie zahlreiche andere, 1919 in die Partei ein.⁵⁷ Der General Caviglia ernannte ihn zu seinem Adjutanten in Rom und so ist der Major A. Parisi gegen Ende des Jahres 1920 bereits bei der mussolinianischen Revolutionsbewegung, der er bis zu seinem Tode folgte.⁵⁸ Zusammen mit seinem Bruder Enrico führte er höchst erfolgreich die Firma SAVERIO PARISI, die inzwischen vom BANCO SAVERIO PARISI, der Hausbank der Familie Parisi begleitet wurde. Die Firma erhielt den Zuschlag bei zahlreichen öffentlichen Aufträgen in Italien und in den Kolonien;⁵⁹ in Rom errichtete sie zahlreiche Wohnhäuser, die von der *Comune di Roma* vermietet wurden. A. Parisi bekleidete zahlreiche öffentliche hohe Ämter im Bereich der Politik, der Finanzen und der Industrie.⁶⁰ Es gab kaum einen Verband, in dem er nicht zumindest herausragendes Mitglied, wenn nicht Vorsitzender oder Präsident war. 1932 wurde er vom Parteisekretär aufgefordert, den Vorsitz des Verbandes der *Arditi d'Italia* zu übernehmen, dessen Vertreter in der Stadt Rom er bereits vorher gewesen war. Aufschlußreich für diese Wahl ist die mit seiner Person verbundene enge Verquickung von Politik und Geschäftstüchtigkeit. Seine Vergangenheit als *Ardito* wird zum Vorzeigemantel, während seine eigentlichen Interessen, verbunden mit großen Einkünften und politischen soliden Verbindungen, bei seiner Firma und deren Aufträgen liegen. Seit Oktober 1934 war er Präsident der faschistischen Konfederation der Kredit- und Versicherungsanstalten (*Confederazione delle Imprese del Credito e Assicurazioni*); in dieser seiner Tätigkeit bezeichnet ihn der Neuhistoriker G. Rochat als herausragenden Vertreter einer der größten stadtrömischen Gesellschaften für öffentliche Arbeiten, Bauten und Spekulationen (*esponente di una delle più grosse società romane di lavori pubblici e di costruzioni e speculazioni*)⁶¹ (Abb. 8). Ab Oktober 1936 war er Ratsmitglied des IS(TITUTO) del M(EDIO) e E(STREMO) O(RIENTE), möglicherweise als eine Art Sponsor aufgrund seiner bereits eingenommenen Positionen.⁶² Er war Mitglied des Nationalrates der Korporationen (*Consiglio Nazionale delle Corporazioni*) und gehörte dem Ordine militare di Savoia⁶³ an, war *Colonnello in A(usiliari) R(iduzione) Q(uadri)*. Während seines Mandats als Abgeordneter in der XXIX Legislaturperiode (1934-1936), wird er im März 1936, zusammen mit Anderen, als 'richiamato alle armi' (in Äthiopien) geführt; G. Rochat vermutet allerdings, daß er sich in Wirklichkeit um die Angelegenheiten



Abb. 7. Porträt von Alessandro Parisi. Aus: *Ardito D'Italia*, Settembre 1938, Frontespiz ('mit Genehmigung des Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali' vom 15. 05. 2001. Reproduktion verboten).

seiner Firma kümmerte.⁶⁴ In den Kriegskampagnen in A(frica) O(rientale) I(taliana) erhielt er 1936 eine Bronzemedaille. In Spanien war er Legionär und nahm an der Schlacht um Teruel teil.⁶⁵ Der Tod von A. Parisi fand verständlicherweise nicht nur in der Presse große Beachtung. Fürst Valerio

⁵⁷ 23. 03. 1919 Eintritt in die Partei. Dazu Rochat 1999, Premessa.
⁵⁸ Colombini 1939, 96.

⁵⁹ Colombini 1939, 123. In der Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia*, September 1938, 14 sind die Großaufträge der Firma aufgezählt; zu erinnern ist an: Turin, Stadio Mussolini; Rom, Stazione Radio Ciampino (1925); Aeroporto dell'Urbe (1927-28); Autobahn Florenz-Viareggio (1929-33); mehrere Trockenlegungen. Straßen-, Eisenbahn- und Flugplatzbau in Somalia und Äthiopien. Parisi's Firma war unter den sechs Firmen, die das volle Vertrauen der Regierung besaßen.

⁶⁰ Wie u. a. aus den Todesanzeigen für ihn hervorgeht (Zeitung: *Giornale d'Italia* 6. August 1938, 6).

⁶¹ Rochat 1999, 164.

⁶² Interpretation der Sitzungsberichte durch A. Gargaruti (mdl. Auskunft).

⁶³ s. S. 200 oben. Auch Internet: <http://www.knightlyorders.org/sav.html>.

⁶⁴ Rochat 1999, 168.

⁶⁵ Ankündigung von Parisi's Tod mit einem kurzen Lebensabriß in der Zeitung: *Giornale d'Italia* vom 5. August 1938.



Abb. 8. Der Finanzminister (Thaon de Revel) spricht zu den dirigenti della confederazione del Credito e della Assicurazione. Im Bild ist außen links A. Parisi zu erkennen. Aus: *Ardito D'Italia*, Settembre 1938, 11 ('mit Genehmigung des Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali' vom 15. 05. 2001. Reproduktion verboten).

Pignatelli, Schriftführer der Verbandszeitung der *Arditi*, machte sich beim Staatsoberhaupt Mussolini zu deren Fürsprecher,⁶⁶ Parisi in der Krypta seines Amtssitzes zu bestatten. Dieser Bitte wurde stattgegeben und angeordnet, daß auf der Bahre des heroischen Kommandeurs des *X Reparto* vier gezogene Dolche niedergelegt wurden, die an die 4 Kriege, in denen Parisi gekämpft hatte, erinnern sollten (Abb. 9).⁶⁷ Aufgrund detaillierter Pressemitteilungen läßt sich das Ritual der aufwendigen Beisetzung, einem Staatsbegräbnis nicht unähnlich, in der Kirche S. Marco auf der Piazza Venezia rekonstruieren.⁶⁸ Tausende und Abertausende, wie es heißt, trugen sich in das Kondolenzbuch, das am Eingang der Torre de' Conti auslag, ein,⁶⁹ der Turm war mit Trauerflor geschmückt (Abb. 10). Vom Tag des Begräbnisses am 6. August an bis in die Nacht

⁶⁷ Zeitung: *Giornale d'Italia* 7. August 1938, 4. Abbildung der Bahre (hier Abb. 9) in der Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia*, September 1938, 8.

⁶⁸ Ebda. Am Tag zuvor war die Leiche aus Recanati, wo sie im Palazzo Civico aufgebahrt worden war, nach Rom transportiert worden. Am Ponte Milvio wurde der Leichenwagen u.a. von den Familienangehörigen, dem Principe Pignatelli als Sekretär der *FNAI*, von einem Vertreter des Abgeordnetenhauses, mehreren Generälen und zahlreichen Vertretern von Kampfeinheiten, Freiwilligen und Garibaldini und von einer Menge von *Arditi* empfangen. Der Duce schickte einen großen Kranz, der auf dem Leichenwagen niedergelegt wurde. Die Aufschrift auf den Kranzbändern lautete: *Al Camerata Alessandro - Il Duce*.

Wie die Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia* in ihrer Ausgabe vom September 1938, 6 berichtet, wurde von der Witwe Parisi eine Subskription eröffnet, um den letzten Willen des Verstorbenen zu erfüllen (was das gewesen ist, ist bisher unklar). Frau Parisi deponierte als erste bei der Banca di S. Spirito eine Summe von Lire 100.000. Ihr eiferten mit niedrigeren Summen die Brüder von Alessandro Parisi, Enrico und Ugo, (Lire 20.000) nach. Funktionäre, Angestellte und sonstwie mit dem stadtrömischen Sitz der Firma Saverio Parisi Verbundene stifteten Lire 5.000; der Advokat Guido Cassinelli ebenfalls Lire 5.000. Es wurde darum gebeten, die Gelder an die Banca di S. Spirito in Rom zu überweisen oder direkt an die Witwe in Via Nomentana 297 Roma.

⁶⁹ Nicht aufgefunden.

⁶⁶ Laut Colombini 1939, 161 ist Fürst Pignatelli der Überbringer des Wunsches der *famiglia degli Arditi*, wie es heißt, ihn im Turm zu bestatten.



Abb. 9. Die Bahre von A. Parisi vor der Beisetzung in der Torre de' Conti. Aus: *Ardito D'Italia*, Settembre 1938, 8 ('mit Genehmigung des Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali' vom 15. 05. 2001. Reproduktion verboten).



Abb. 10. Rom, Torre de' Conti mit Trauerflor für den verstorbenen A. Parisi. Aus: *Ardito D'Italia*, Settembre 1938, 9 ('mit Genehmigung des Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali' vom 15. 05. 2001. Reproduktion verboten).

vom 12. auf den 13. August wurde der Bevölkerung Gelegenheit gegeben, dem aufgebahrten und von 6 *Arditi* bewachten Heros einen Besuch abzustatten. Anschließend wurde Parisi in einem, wie es heißt, in einer Wand des Sakrariums vorbereiteten loculo bestattet.⁷⁰ Dreißig Tage (*Trigesimo*) nach Parisi's Ableben fand ihm zu Ehren und Gedenken im Teatro Adriano in Rom eine Großveranstaltung der *Arditi* statt.⁷¹

Wir wenden uns der Krypta (Exedra des *Templum Pacis*) und ihrer Ausschmückung zu, die sie nach der Aufnahme des Verstorbenen erfuhr.⁷² Der allgemein an die Gefallenen des Ersten Weltkrieges erinnernde Charakter des Raumes wandelte sich im Moment der Einbringung eines 'echten' toten *Ardito* in eine konkrete Memorialstätte und erhielt dadurch eine höhere Weihe.

Man würde allzu gern erfahren, aus welchem Lager der Vorschlag unterbreitet worden ist, die Reste von Parisi nicht in der Wandnische zu belassen, sondern ihm eine prächtige Grablege zu verschaffen und ob ein Altertumswissenschaftler (wenn ja, wer?) in diesem Zusammenhang beratend hinzugezogen

wurde. Wie bereits erwähnt, fiel die Wahl auf einen antiken Sarkophag.⁷³ Wie sich nachweisen läßt (s. u.),

⁷⁰ Zeitung: *Ardito D'Italia* September 1938, 16.

⁷¹ In der Zeitung *Giornale d'Italia* wird am 4. 9. 1938 auf S. 4 die am nächsten Tag im Teatro Adriano stattfindende Veranstaltung angezeigt. Vorsitzender der Zeremonie wird der General Ottavio Zoppi sein. Alle den *Arditi* der Stadt Rom Zugehörigen müssen sich in perfekter uniforme federale am nächsten Tag um 7.30 Uhr an der Torre de' Conti einfinden. Die Ansprache (abgedruckt in: *Rassegna di Cultura Militare*, Anno I, n. 1 [1938] 37-41 [mit Bild von Parisi in Uniform] wie hier Abb. 7) bei der Veranstaltung hält der *Ardito d'Italia* und Unterstaatssekretär des Außeministeriums, Giuseppe Bastianini. Die Zeitung: *Giornale d'Italia* berichtet am 6. September 1938, 4 in einem ausführlichen Artikel von diesem Ereignis. Oberhalb der Bühne des Theaters mit dem Rednerpult war ein Großfoto des Duce mit Stahlhelm angebracht. Den ganzen Tag lang haben, wie es heißt, im Sakrarium der Torre de' Conti die *Fiamme Nere* Ehrenwache gehalten. In verschiedenen Kirchen der Stadt sind Barmherzigkeitsmessen abgehalten worden. Bericht auch in der Zeitschrift: *Ardito D'Italia*, Oktober 1938, 2 und 5.

⁷² Es ist daraufhin zu weisen, daß Cusanno die Erste und bisher Einzige ist, die die faschistische Nutzung des Turmes erwähnt (Cusanno 1995, 129).

⁷³ Colombini 1939, 165 spricht von einer *urna marmorea*, in der A. Parisi liege. Es ist wohl nicht an eine zwischenzeitliche

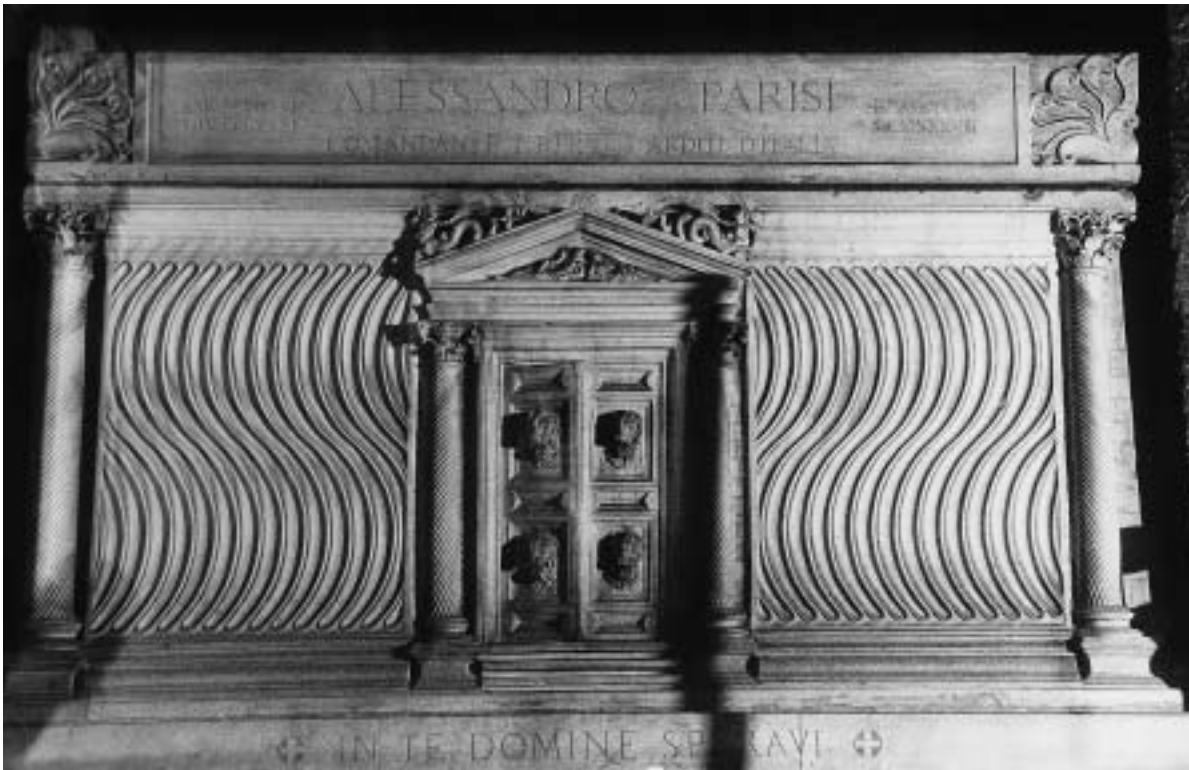


Abb. 11. Rom, Torre de' Conti: Exedra des Templum Pacis: Sarkophag, in dem A. Parisi begraben ist. Photo K. Anger.

war die Auswahl in den Abmessungen durch die vorgesehene Platzierung des Objektes festgelegt. Möglicherweise spielte auch die neutral gehaltene Dekoration des Sarkophags eine Rolle. Das massige Stück kann nur durch die Seitentür in der Via Tor de' Conti über die dort befindliche steile Treppe in die Krypta gehievt worden sein.

Der große Riefelsarkophag mit dem Mittelmotiv der halbgeöffneten Tür (Abb. 11) ist eines der besterhaltensten Stücke dieses Typus überhaupt⁷⁴ und findet eine fast maß- und motivgleiche Entsprechung in einem Exemplar in Palermo.⁷⁵ Sein originaler Deckel fehlt. Der Sarkophag war kein unbekanntes Zeugnis, auch kein Neufund: ein Anderson Foto des Jahres 1932 zeigt ihn, auf zwei niedrige Marmorstützen gesockelt, im Palazzo Barberini neben einem antiken Grabaltar und unterhalb eines den Sarkophag in seiner Breite wenig übertreffenden Gemälderahmens.⁷⁶ Die Klärung der Umstände und Hintergründe, auf welche Weise der Sarkophag aus der Familiensammlung der Barberini in die Krypta gelangte, müssen bislang ungeklärt bleiben.⁷⁷ Für die neue Nutzung wurde dem Sarkophag ein einfach gehaltener Flachdeckel mit Eckpalmetten zugefügt. In das breite, leicht eingetiefte frontale Feld sind die Angaben über

Namen und Lebensdaten des Bestatteten eingeschrieben. Der Zusatz *Comandante I Reparti Arditi D'Italia* weist allein auf die (militärische) Berechtigung des Generals Parisi hin, an diesem besonderen Ort bestattet zu sein. Eine ebenfalls moderne, knapp 10 cm hohe marmorne Standplatte ist dem Sarkophag zugefügt. Auf ihr befindet sich der christliche Spruch 'in te domine speravi' eingegraben. Er ist seitlich von je einem in einen Kreis eingeschriebenen Kreuzzeichen begleitet.

Aufbewahrung der Reste in einer echten Urne zu denken, sondern eher anzunehmen, daß für Colombini Urne und Sarkophag jeweils nur ein Behälter sind, wobei der Ausdruck Urne wohl der geläufigere war.

⁷⁴ Matz-Duhn 2695. Haarløv 1977, 144 nr. 19 Abb. 49 (hier wird sein Aufbewahrungsort mit Palazzo Barberini angegeben).

⁷⁵ Tusa 1995, 58 nr. 56 Taf. LXXXIV. Haarløv 1977, 147 nr. 27 Abb. 57 (Palermo, Kathedrale, Krypta. Wiederverwendet für den im Jahre 1311 verstorbenen Erzbischof Bartholomeo von Antiochia).

⁷⁶ Anderson 32052. Für die Recherche sei H. Herdejürgen besonders gedankt.

⁷⁷ Im *Convegno dei Soprintendenti alle antichità e all'arte* im Juli 1938 wird vom *Ministro dell'Educazione Nazionale, Onorevole Bottai*, auf die 1929 erfolgte Gesetzesverabschiedung hingewiesen, derzufolge 'si sottrae l'opera d'arte alla esclusività della proprietà privata' (Lanista, in *L'Urbe* 3, vol. II, 1938, 43-45).



Abb. 12. Rom, Torre de'Conti: Krypta: Sockel des Sarkophags. Photo K. Anger.



Abb. 13. Rom, Torre de'Conti: Exedra des Templum Pacis: Rücksprünge des Sockels. Photo K. Anger.

Der Sarkophag ist allein aufgrund seiner Ausmaße beeindruckend, würde jedoch in dieser seiner neuen Umgebung und bei einer Raumhöhe von 16 Metern unterdimensioniert wirken, zumal, wenn er auf dem Boden stünde. Um seine Wirkung zu steigern, seine Funktion und Bedeutung zu unterstreichen und vor allem der hier beigesetzten Persönlichkeit das angemessene Ehren – und Erinnerungsmal zu setzen, hielt man die Schaffung eines Sockels für notwendig. Dieser erfüllte verschiedene Bedingungen: vor allem mußte er in seinen Maßen 'passen', sollte mäßig dekoriert sein und antikisch wirken. Die Wahl fiel auf einen Sockel in Form eines Gebälkstücks (Abb. 12), wobei man sich nicht daran störte, daß die Verwendung eines Architekturelements an einer solchen Stelle mit dieser Funktion völlig unkanonisch war. Was zählte waren andere Dinge: die Höhe des Untersatzes mußte harmonisch auf die Maße des Sarkophags abgestimmt sein, gleichzeitig jedoch das

antike Stück imposant genug präsentieren; außerdem war eine gewisse stilistische Anlehnung an das antike Stück gesucht, um den Kontrast zwischen den beiden Teilen nicht zu groß werden zu lassen. Der entsprechende Kunstgriff bestand in einer 'Antikisierung', wie z. B. in wie zufällig stehengebliebenen Werkspuren, die eine Nichtvollendung andeuten und gewollt angebrachten kleineren Beschädigungen der Oberfläche, die hohes Alter vortäuschen sollten. Diese gewissen Unregelmäßigkeiten stehen in deutlichem Kontrast zu den 'maßgeschneiderten' Rücksprüngen des Gebälks, die der geriefelten Partie der Sarkophagfront (ohne die seitlich begrenzenden Säulen) entsprechen (Abb. 13), und dem Risalit, der haargenau auf der Kante des den Mosaikteppich umgebenden Schuppenbandes zu liegen kommt. Wir erinnern: der Sarkophag stellte nicht die einzige Ausstattung des Raumes dar; er war eine Hinzufügung zum bereits vorhandenen Altar und dem großen Kreuz.

Im Rahmen der Umgestaltung der Krypta für die Aufnahme von A. Parisi wurde in Raummitte in Höhe des Sarkophags, das Mittelembem des Fußbodens ausgewechselt. Seine Ausrichtung auf das Wandkreuz wurde beibehalten. Das Bildfeld zeigt das Wappen, das bereits auf der Medaille des Vorjahres vorhanden war: aus dem Symbol der Lupa (vom Eingang her rückwärts zu lesen) entspringt nach links ein Lorbeer, nach rechts ein Eichenzweig.⁷⁸ Die Zweige sind mit einer schwarz-weiß gestreiften Kordel mit Herkulesknoten, oder auch *laccio d'amore* genannt, zusammengebunden. Zwischen den Zweigen befindet sich ein stilisierter Kurzdolch, oberhalb seines Griffes ist das Motto FERT eingeschrieben (Abb. 14). Zur Erklärung dieses Emblemes, das letztendlich den Aufschluß für eine Deutung des gesamten Raumensembles und der Ausstattung gibt, dient vorab eine kurze Betrachtung des Altars. Seine Vorderseite ist in drei Panele aufgeteilt; im breiteren mittleren ein einfaches Kreuz, in den seitlichen links die Darstellung der Verkündigung (*annunciazione*) eigenartigerweise mit zwei Engeln, rechts die Auferstehung Christi. Der Altar wirkt mit seiner leicht verwaschenen Oberfläche wie aus Gips geformt, was jedoch nach eigener Untersuchung nicht der Fall zu sein scheint. Auf beiden Nebenseiten besitzt er eine ca. 20 cm tiefe Aussparung, die momentan als Abstellraum für Eimer, Besen und Schaufel dient (Abb. 15).

⁷⁸ Cusanno 1995, 129 spricht von einem Akanthuszweig. Die beiden Zweige erinnern an Teile der Bronzekränze, die am 4. November 1921 bei der Einbringung der Reste des Unbekannten Soldaten in das Denkmal für Vittorio Emanuele II in Rom niedergelegt worden sind. Ein bronzenener Eichen – Lorbeerzweig von einem dieser Kränze ist im Museo del Genio dell'Arma in Rom (Lungotevere della Vittoria) erhalten. Frdl. Auskunft von General S. Damiani.



Abb. 14. Rom, Torre de'Conti: Exedra des Templum Pacis: Mittelembem des Fußbodens. Photo K. Anger.

Da der Altar direkt an die Exedrawand angelehnt ist, bleibt unbekannt, wie seine Rückseite beschaffen ist. Bereits die Vorderansicht des Altars, besser noch die, wenn auch verschwommene Aufnahme seiner Nebenseite zeigt, daß auch dieses Stück, falls es nicht für seine Verwendung geschaffen, so doch für seine Neubestimmung in der Krypta 'hergerichtet' worden ist: Profile und Aufsatz sind neuen Datums. Der Altar sowie der Sarkophag werden von Kultutensilien begleitet: an der Wand befestigte Bronzekränze; auf dem Boden vor dem Sarkophag Bronzeurnen und -Kandelaber, bronzene Kerzenständer vor dem Altar.

Das neue Mittelembem des Fußbodens, die sozusagen die auf die Erde niedergelegte Fahne der *Arditi*, unterstreicht den Märtyrercharakter der Anlage.

Einige Punkte lassen sich kurz zusammenfassen:

- a Wir versuchten zu klären, warum Parisi in der antiken Exedra bestattet worden ist.
- b Der Raum war bereits vor der Aufnahme des Verstorbenen als Krypta für Erinnerungsversammlungen des Kämpferverbandes der *Arditi* hergerichtet. Zu dieser Ausstattung, gehörte ein bronzenes

Wandkreuz und ein Altar mit Verkündigungs- und Auferstehungsszene.

- c Der Oberkommandant der *Arditi* wird mit einem 'Grabmonument' im mittelalterlichen Turm geehrt. Dazu wird ein antiker Sarkophag als Prestigeobjekt gewählt. Die Wiederverwendung antiker Sarkophage ist ein altbekanntes Phänomen,⁷⁹ jedoch für die Jahre des Faschismus ungewöhnlich.⁸⁰
- d In der Grabinschrift wird allein auf die militärische Qualifikation des Bestatteten abgehoben; sie scheint in einem komplexen Verhältnis zu dem separat beigeschriebenen christlichen Hoffnungspruch zu stehen.

⁷⁹ Andrae-Settis 1984, passim.

⁸⁰ Der Sarkophag, in dem 1933 der Maler G. A. Sartorio in Rom, San Sebastiano begraben wurde, ist neuzeitlich, allerdings einem antiken Vorbild nachempfunden, und gibt mit der Fasziendekoration ein eindeutiges Glaubensbekenntnis ab. Eine andere Art der Wiederverwendung von Antike stellt die sog. *Ara dei Caduti Fascisti* dar, die, ohne Dekoration, heutzutage in der Grünanlage auf dem Kapitolsberg neben der seitlichen Eingangstreppe der Kirche S. M. in Aracoeli liegt. Dieser Block diente ursprgl. als Untersatz des Obeliskens in den sallustianischen Gärten (Bonfiglietti 1928, 416-418). Derselbe Block 1933 mit Altaraufsatz und Ehrenkränzen dekoriert s. Ricci-Colini-Mariani 1933, 35.



Abb. 15. Rom, Torre de'Conti: Exedra des Templum Pacis, Altar der Annunziata, Ns. Photo K. Anger.



Abb. 16. Rom, Collare dell'Annunziata des Generals Menabrea (Museo del Genio dell'Arma). Photo K. Anger.

e Die verschworene, mystisch militärisch-religiöse Gemeinde der Altkämpfer erhält durch die Einbringung in ihr Repräsentationshaus nicht eines Unbekannten Soldaten, sondern eines ihrer führenden Häupter, eine Aufwertung besonderer Art. Die bald über zwei Jahrzehnte eingeübte feierliche Erinnerungsstufe an heroische Taten der *Arditi* wird damit festgeschrieben.

f Das Regime setzt sich selbst in der Figur von Parisi ein Denkmal; beide Seiten ergänzten sich gegenseitig: der Staat als Großauftraggeber des geschickten und einflußreichen Geschäftsmannes, der es verstanden hatte, seine militärische Vergangenheit als verpflichtende Größe in die Politik der Gegenwart einzubringen. Regimeloyalität und gewinnbringende Tätigkeit bedingten sich gegenseitig.

Wir versuchten eine vorsichtige Deutung dieses komplexen Ensembles zu geben, die von Fachkollegen aus der Neueren Geschichte zu revidieren, zu ergänzen, zu berichtigen und auch zu verwerfen sein wird. Nach Meinung G. Rochats könnten auch Recherchen über die Familie und die Firma von Parisi weitere Aufschlüsse geben.

Das Motto FERT, dessen Bedeutung bisher nicht eindeutig geklärt ist,⁸¹ gehört in den militärischen

Bereich im Umkreis des Hauses Savoia und ist zusammen mit dem Kurzdolch und den ihn umgebenden Zweigen (s. Abb. 14), das Abzeichen der *Arditi*, wie sie es auf ihren schwarzen Uniformen trugen.⁸²

⁸¹ Ravetto-Sézane-Imbrighi 1977, 23-28. Im Lessico Universale Italiano Vol. I, 1968, 696 unter voce: Annunziata, ordine dell' wird der Orden nur kurz abgehandelt. Ausführlicher jetzt in: Enciclopedia La Piccola Treccani (1998) vol. I, 298 voce: Annunziata, ordine dell' heißt es: 'FERT: Motto dell'ordine cavalleresco della SS. Annunziata, detta in origine del Collare, istituito da Amedeo VI di Savoia nel 1364. Molte le interpretazioni proposte: alcuni ritengono la quattro lettere di cui composto iniziali di altrettante parole, variamente spiegate come Fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit o Fides est regni tutela o Foedere et religione tememus. Secondo altri il motto sarebbe un'abbreviazione di fertè: voce dell'antico fr. col significato di „fermezza“ o di ferto (v.) nome di una moneta di Amedeo VI di Savoia. Altri infine, richiamandosi al carattere cavalleresco – amoroso che ebbe l'ordine del collare, credono che il motto alluda al proposito del cavaliere di sopportare (lat. Fert: porta, supporta) ogni pena per la sua dama, e quando in seguito l'ordine assume carattere religioso – militare, di sopportare ogni cosa per devozione in onore della Vergine.'

⁸² s. z. B. die Uniform von A. Parisi (s. Abb.7). Sonst auch: Colombini 1939, Abb. nach S. 56: Targa in Mailand, lapide nel 'Covo' di Via Cerva: Kurzdolche, Laccio d'amore, Fascio mit Lupä und das Motto FERT. s. auch das labaro der Reparti



Abb. 17. Monument für T. Tittoni, Gipsmodell von E. Tadolini. Aus: T. F. Hufschmidt, Tadolini. *Adamo-Scipione-Giulio-Enrico. Quattro generazioni di scultori a Roma nei secoli XIX e XX* (1996) 263.

Die Beschränkung der Farben des Fußbodens auf schwarz und weiß findet hier ihre eigene programmatische Aussage.⁸³ Das Motto, zusammen mit der im gängigen Sprachgebrauch als *laccio d'amore* bekannten Knotenschlinge ist Bestandteil des 'Collare dell'Annunziata'.⁸⁴ Dies ist die höchste Auszeichnung, die der König Italiens vergeben konnte. Die damit Geehrten wurden in die Familie des Königs als Cousins aufgenommen (*cugini del re*). Um eine Vorstellung von dieser in zwei Versionen ausgegebenen, aus vergoldetem Silber bestehenden schweren Kette zu geben, bilden wir das Collare des Generals Menabrea *del Genio Militare* (Abb. 16) und, in der großen Version, das Collare des Politikers Tommaso Tittoni ab, wie es vom Bildhauer Enrico Tadolini geschaffen wurde (Abb. 17).⁸⁵ 1925 hatte Tittoni aufgrund seiner außerordentlichen Leistungen für den Staat diese Auszeichnung erhalten.⁸⁶ Zur Erinnerung: in der fast 600 jährigen Geschichte des *collare dell'Annunziata* gibt es nur vier Personen, denen diese Ehrung wieder entzogen wurde: der letzte

von ihnen war Benito Mussolini im Jahre 1943.

Die vorliegenden Zeilen wollen auf einen komplexen Fundbestand aufmerksam machen und an einem konkreten Beispiel auf die enge Verquickung der Antike mit einer, in Geschichtsbüchern, Rom-Führern und auch in Spezialliteratur zur stadtrömischen Archäologie bisher nur unzureichend dokumentierten Epoche hinweisen. Die Einbeziehung der Zeugnisse der Jahre des 'Ventennio' (1922-1942) in die aktuelle Diskussion über eine Neuordnung des Stadt-zentrums wird noch geraume Zeit beanspruchen.⁸⁷

Für vielfältige Hinweise und Kritik gilt Dank, in alphabetischer Reihenfolge: L. Abbondanza, K. Anger, I. Brock, A. Carelli, A. M. Cusanno, S. Damiani, S. Feußner, A. Gargaruti, D. Gauss, H. Herdejürgen, H. Kammerer Grothaus, G. Mencagli, E. Neudecker, E. Ofenbach, R. Paolucci, N. Parise, A. Ridolfi, G. Rochat, Suora Tarquini, P. Zanker.

ISTITUTO ARCHEOLOGICO GERMANICO
VIA SARDEGNA 79
00187 ROMA

d'assalto: schwarzer Grund, darauf der Kurzdolch mit dem *laccio d'amore* darunter und dem Eichen- und Lorbeerzweig. Der Titel der Zeitschrift: *Ardito D'Italia* trägt im Schriftbild das Motto FERT mit dem Dolch und den umgebenden Zweigen.⁸³ Zu den *Arditi* und den *Truppe d'assalto*: *Enciclopedia Italiana* Vol. IV, 1929, coll. 980-981: voce *Assalto*, 'Riparti di ... *Nell'esercito italiano venne iniziato nel gennaio 1917: Armamento individuale fu il pugnale, il moschetto e il petardo Thévenot. Nero il drappo die gagliardetti di battaglia sul quale erano ricamati, in oro, un pugnale, un ramo di quercia e uno di alloro. La prima divisione d'assalto prese parte alla battaglia del Piave (15.-24.6.1918). L'intero corpo d'armata d'assalto alla battaglia di Vittorio Veneto.*' Das entsprechende Lemma im *Lessico Universale Italiano* Vol. II, 1969, 298: voce *Assalto* ist wesentlich kürzer gefaßt. Rochat 1999, *passim*.

⁸⁴ S. o. Anm. 81. Das Collare existiert in zwei Ausgaben: klein (um den Kragen zu tragen: s. General Menabrea) und groß (z. B. T. Tittoni). Die eventuell existierenden Unterschiede zwischen den Größen werden in keiner der mir bislang zugänglichen Publikationen benannt. Generell s.: *Enciclopedia Italiana* vol. III, 1929, coll. 409-412 (F. Co.) voce: *Annunziata*, ordine della SS. (mit Abb. auf col. 410). Ravetto-Sézanne-Imbrighi 1977, 29-35.

⁸⁵ Abbildungen der chronologisch unterschiedlichen collari in: *Enciclopedia Italiana* vol. III, 1929, coll. 410-411 (oben). Hier sind deutlich das Motto FERT, die Szene der Annunziazione und die *nodi d'amore* zu erkennen. Für Tadolini: Hufschmidt 1996, 263.

⁸⁶ Hufschmidt 1996, 262.

⁸⁷ s. eine Reihe von Beiträgen (Carbonara 1999, 111-117; Cimbolli Spagnesi 1999, 118-119; Staccioli 1999, 119-120; Miarelli Mariani 1999, 120-122), die die unterschiedlichen Positionen und Erwartungen von Ausgräbern, Architekten, Urbanisten und widerspiegeln. s. auch Interview mit dem Soprintendente di Roma, A. La Regina, der ein Verteidiger der Idee des totalen Archäologischen Parks im Zentrum der Stadt ist: 'Sarebbe straordinario restituire ai visitatori le dimensioni e il senso dello spazio delle antiche piazze imperiali' (Il Messaggero, 26 agosto 2000, 23).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Amici, C. M. 1982, *Foro di Traiano: basilica Ulpia e biblioteche*, Roma.
- Amici, C. M. 1991, *Il Foro di Cesare*, Firenze 2 t.
- Andreae, B. et Settis, S. (Hrsg.) 1984, *Colloquio sul reimpiego dei sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo*, Pisa 5-12.9.1982, *MWPr* 1983 (1984).
- Archeologia nel centro storico. Mostra Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo 6.5.-10.6. 1986, Roma.
- Atkinson, D. 1996 The Road to Rome and the landscapes of Fascism, in K. Gilliver, W. Ernst, F. Scriba (Hrsg.), *Archaeology, Ideology, Method. Inter-Academy Seminar on Current Archaeological Research 1993*. AA.VV. 1983, *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, Roma.
- Barroero L., A.Conti, A. M.Racheli (1983), *Via dei Fori Imperiali. La zona archeologica di Roma. Urbanistica, beni artistici e politica culturale*, Roma.
- Bauer, F. A. 1996, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Untersuchung zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos*, Mainz.
- Benevolo, L. (Hrsg.) 1985, *Roma. Studio per la sistemazione dell'area archeologica centrale*. (Lavori e studi di archeologia Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma, vol. 7), Roma.
- Bonfiglietti, R. 1928, L'Ara dei Caduti Fascisti eretta sul Campidoglio in *Capitolium* 4.
- Brock, I. 1995, Das faschistische Erbe im Herzen Roms - Das Beispiel Piazza Augusto Imperatore, in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift. Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar - Universität* 41, Heft 4/5: *Dokumentation der Jahrestagung 1994 in Weimar*.
- Carbonara, G. 1999, Archeologi e Architetti: L'Area di Scavo dei Fori Imperiali in Roma in *Palladio* 23.
- Cederna, A. 1979 *Mussolini urbanista. Lo sventramento negli anni del consenso*, Roma.
- Cimbolli Spagnesi, G. 1999, Evitiamo che gli Archeologici diventino Urbanisti in *Palladio* 23.
- Colini, A. M. 1937, Forum Pacis in *BullCom* 65, 1937 (= *Bull. Del Museo Impero Romano VIII*), Roma.
- Colombini, P. A. 1939, *Alessandro Parisi*, Roma.
- Cusanno, A. M. 1988, Turre Comitum in *L'Urbe* sett.-dic.
- Cusanno, A. M. 1995, Il restauro e l'isolamento della Torre dei Conti in L. Cardilli (a cura di), *Gli Anni del Governatorato (1926-1944). Interventi urbanistici-Scoperte Archeologiche-Arredo Urbano-Restauri*, Roma.
- Fasolo, V. 1991, L'Attività di Vincenzo Fasolo, Ingegnere e Architetto in *La Capitale a Roma*.
- Fratricelli, V. 1982, *Roma 1914-1929. La città e gli architetti tra la guerra e il fascismo*, Roma.
- Guida Rionale di Roma* (a cura di L. Barroero), *Rione I - Monti (Vol. III)* 1982, Roma.
- Haarløv, B. 1977, *The half-open Door. A common symbolic motif within Roman sepulchral sculpture*, Odense.
- Hufschmidt, T. F. 1996, *Tadolini. Adamo-Scipione-Giulio-Enrico. Quattro generazioni di scultori a Roma nei secoli XIX e XX*, Roma.
- I luoghi del consenso imperiale 1995, *Il Foro di Augusto. Il Foro di Traiano*. Mostra Roma.
- Insolera, I.-Perego, F. 1983, *Architettura e città. Storia moderna dei Fori di Roma*, Roma-Bari.
- Krautheimer, R. 1987, *Rom. Schicksal einer Stadt 312-1308*, München.
- La Capitale a Roma 1991. Città e Arredo urbano (1870-1945)*. Mostra Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni 2. 10.-28. 11.
- La Rocca, E. 2000, Gli Anni di Antonio Maria Colini tra Governatorato e Comune di Roma in *Rend. Att. Pont. Romana Arch. Serie III*, Vol. LXX, 1997-1998.
- Meneghini, R. et M. Milella 1989, Ricerche nel Foro di Traiano - Basilica Ulpia. Un esempio di sopravvivenza di strutture antiche in età medievale in *Amediev* 16, Roma.
- Meneghini, R., L. Messa, L. Ungaro 1990, *Il Foro di Traiano*, Roma.
- Meneghini, R. 1991, *Il foro di Nerva*, Roma.
- Meneghini R. 1998A, L'architettura del Foro di Traiano attraverso i ritrovamenti archeologici più recenti in *RM* 105.
- Meneghini, R. 1998B, Nuovi dati sul medioevo al Foro e ai Mercati di Traiano in *Amediev* 25.
- Messa, L. et Ungaro, L. 1989, Foro Traiano. Contributi per una ricostruzione storica e architettonica. Rilievi moderni e ricostruzioni 1926-1986 in *ACI* 41.
- Miarelli Mariani, G. 1999, Parlare dei Fori; una fatica dolce e grave ad un tempo in *Palladio* 23.
- Muñoz, A. 1935, *Roma di Mussolini*, Roma.
- Pisani Sartorio, G. 1991, La distruzione della Velia per l'apertura della Via Imperiale in *La Capitale a Roma*.
- Racheli, A. M. 1983 L'urbanistica nella zona dei Fori Imperiali. Piani e attuazioni (1873-1973) in L. Barroero-A. Conti-A. M. Racheli, *M. Serio, Via dei Fori Imperiali. La zona archeologica di Roma: urbanistica, beni artistici e politica culturale*, Roma.
- Ravetto, G.-Sézane, P.-Imbrighi, P. L. 1977, *Gli ordini cavallereschi italiani*, Roma.
- Ricci, C.-Colini, A. M.-Mariani, V. 1933, *Via dell'Impero*, Roma.
- Ridley, R. T. 1986, Augusti Manes volitant per auras. The Archeology of Rome under the Fascists in *Xenia* 11-12.
- Rizzo, S. 1991 La Via dei Fori Imperiali tra il 1870 e il 1945 in *La Capitale a Roma*.
- Rizzo, S. 1995 Archeologia e arredo urbano in *Via dei fori Imperiali tra il 1870 e il 1945*, Roma.
- Rizzo, S.-Santangeli Valenziani, R. 1999, Gli scavi dei Fori Imperiali in *Forma Urbis anno IV, n. 10*.
- Rochat, G. 1999, *Gli arditi della Grande guerra. Origini, battaglia e miti*, Gorizia².
- Roma: Continuità dell'antico 1981, *I Fori Imperiali nel progetto della città*, Roma.
- ROMACENTRO 1986 Area Archeologica Centrale e Città. Ricerche (a cura di M. De Carolis, D. Fuina) vol. 7.
- Staccioli, R. A. 1999, Considerazioni sugli scavi di Via dei Fori Imperiali in *Palladio* 23.
- Svagnoni, G. 1938, *Mussolini e gli Arditi*, Roma.
- Tusa, V. 1995, *I sarcofagi romani in Sicilia*, Roma².
- Ungaro, L. 1993, Foro di Traiano in *BCom* 95.
- Ungaro, L. 1995, Scoprimo dell'emiciclo del Foro di Traiano (1926-1934) in L. Cardilli (a cura di), *Gli Anni del governatorato (1926-1944). Interventi urbanistici-Scoperte Archeologiche-Arredo Urbano*, Roma.
- Ungaro, L. 1997, *Il Foro di Augusto*, Roma.

Carandini's Royal Houses at the Foot of the Palatine: Fact or Fiction?

Eric M. Moormann

Some remarks on A. Carandini/P. Carafa, *Palatium e Sacra via, 1. Prima delle mura, l'età delle mura e l'età delle case arcaiche*, *Bollettino di Archeologia* 31-33 (1995 [= February 2000]); A. Carandini, *Palatium e Sacra via, 1. Prima delle mura, l'età delle mura e l'età delle case arcaiche. Racconto breve dello scavo con disegni*, *Bollettino di Archeologia* 34 (1995 [= March 2000]; contains plates and plans to Carandini/Carafa).¹

The Palatine undoubtedly forms one of the most venerable areas of ancient Rome. Here, according to the literary tradition, Romulus founded the city by constructing the rectangular walls of *Roma quadrata* in 753 BC after having received a positive sign from heaven in the form of a flight of fourteen eagles. He built his hut on the south-western ridge of the hill, with a panorama that included the Aventine, the Tiber with the adjacent Forum Boarium and the Capitol (*LTUR* I, 214). In the late first century BC, the first emperor Augustus decided to construct his own residence nearby. And as late as the fourth century AD the remains of Romulus' hut were still visible and venerated as a monument of the earliest history of the *urbs*. Following the example of the first king, many elite members of Roman society tried to gain a foothold on the Palatine hill. The emperors merely brought this process to a conclusion.

The kings of the second half of the sixth century BC, according to the literary sources did not live on the hill but moved to the Velia, more or less a foothill of the Palatine, and to the adjacent Forum area. Nearby at the eastern end of the Forum stood the Regia, that was to survive the period of the seven Kings of Rome as a relic of old times, serving as a sort of archive building.

In 1985, Andrea Carandini started excavations in the area of these buildings, viz. the zone between the Arch of Titus and the Regia, and especially on the site occupied by the so-called Porticus Margaritaria (actually *horrea* from the era of Vespasian). This zone had been investigated by Giacomo Boni around 1900, but this pioneer in urban Roman archaeology had not reached the lowest levels of human activities, still less the virgin soil (see the contribution by A.M. Tomei, pp. 21-47). Carandini claims to have found parts of the walls of *Roma quadrata* including one of the four entrances, the *Porta Mugonia*,

as well as the remains of offerings made to the gods on the occasion of erecting a fortification, and a hut which, according to him, was used by a guard (pp. 63-72).

In this discussion note I shall concentrate on a second discovery made by Carandini, namely a series of grand houses of the period of the last two kings, around 550-520 BC (see his synopsis pp. 74-76; for the dating see p. 250) and considered to be their residences. The first results were revealed some ten years ago in a path-breaking exhibition on early Rome, 'La grande Roma dei Tarquini', and, more recently, in the exhibition 'Romolo e Remo'.²

So far there have been very few reactions to these important discoveries, presumably because of the excavator's failure to provide full documentation. But now we have at our disposal the first volume of the final publication of his fieldwork and can check the conclusions previously presented in various conferences and in the exhibitions (see note 2).

Before discussing Carandini's conclusions, it is important to stress that this volume presents the results of an enterprise carried out by skilful and devoted scholars, with a vast knowledge of field archaeology and the historical background. Within a commendably short time of the conclusion of the dig they have provided full documentation of their investigations, including stratigraphic records,³ descriptions and illustrations of the finds, and comparisons with pertinent find complexes elsewhere in Rome.⁴ Thanks to these qualities, scholars can now discuss the issues in an informed way. Carandini personally invites the readers

¹ A first draught of this paper was presented during a round table 'New Approaches to the Archaeology of the House', held at Leiden University, 9-10 May 2001, organised by John Bintliff. I received many suggestions for improvement from the participants and from various readers, especially Marijke Gnade, Roger Ling, Stephan T.A.M. Mols and the members of the editorial board of *BABesch*.

² See the accompanying catalogues: M. Cristofani (ed.), *La grande Roma dei Tarquini*, Roma 1990; A. Carandini/R. Cappelli (eds.), *Roma. Romolo e Remo e la fondazione della città*, Milano 2000. Cf. A. Carandini, *La nascita di Roma. Dèi, Lari, eroi e uomini all'alba di una civiltà*, Torino 1997. On the excavation see, *inter alia*, A. Carandini, *BdArch* 16-18 (1992 [= 1995]) 1-33, 111-138.

³ The latter being a rare feature in Italian archaeology according to Carandini (p. 8).

⁴ However, not all finds are documented. Only those important as to dating and determining strata are included (p. 17).

to follow his reasoning and to question it. The results (p. 17) 'non sono per noi delle realtà ma delle ipotesi di realtà, più o meno verosimili'. And he is not afraid of being contradicted (p. 7): 'Le contraddizioni non sono forse l'anticamera del progresso della ricerca, anche nel campo archeologico?'

During the seventh phase of Carandini's chronology, to which the houses belong, the investigated area was apparently subdivided into two blocks occupied by four houses, of which the excavators found wall structures, floors and sewers (pp. 215-282). These houses are dated to the second half of the sixth century BC by Carandini's team and remained in use, affected by various modifications, some bigger and some smaller, until the beginning of the fourth century, when the Gauls sacked Rome (390 BC). The remains are scanty but this does not prevent Carandini from reconstructing substantial houses of the so-called *domus* type.

It is a commonplace that the student of Roman history and archaeology learns the lay out of a *domus* in terms of an idealised scheme and has to bear in mind that no such house has ever been found (see *infra*). The basis for the adoption of the typology, however, is rooted in the remains of Etruscan funerary architecture and in the ground plans of houses in Etruscan, Latial and Campanian settlements from the fifth century BC onwards, as well as in texts dating from the first century BC onwards, especially Vitruvius' *De Architectura*. This traditional *domus* is concentrated around the atrium, which has a partly open roof and functions as a meeting place between the host and his clients and kinsmen. In principle, the Roman house possesses an open structure and gives the opportunity to penetrate relatively easily into the various parts of the ground floor, at least with the eye. In reality, visitors must have known their limits. The houses of Pompeii - the most thoroughly researched source of material - now provide us with relatively good evidence of how the Roman house functioned, thanks to recent studies by scholars such as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and Jens Arne Dickmann.⁵ No house remains of this type hitherto known date back to the sixth century BC⁶ and thus there is a distinct dearth of comparative material to verify Carandini's reconstruction of the residences of the Roman kings. Indeed, given that we know extremely little about archaic housing in Rome, how did Carandini come to his conclusions?

As it appears to me, Carandini's reconstructions are based on a series of hypotheses which have far-reaching consequences for the whole question of the city's urban society in the fundamental stage of its development. First, Carandini follows the ancient sources literally, for example by using their chronology of the seven kings (753-510 BC) as the foundation of his own time scheme. Even details in their

descriptions of events are enlisted for his reconstructions. So when, according to Livy (I 41, 4), Tanaquil announces the death of her husband, Tarquinius Priscus, from a second floor, this means that the excavated houses must have had a second floor and a sort of Italian *attico* with terrace or balcony.⁷ Second, Carandini assumes that the houses excavated by his team were occupied by the kings. Third, the houses are given the same form and function as those we know from the third, second and first centuries BC in Pompeii. Hence, the kings lived and worked in these houses like magistrates of the late Republic, i.e. in the manner evoked by the writers of the sources that he uses. Fourth, early Rome is presented as a major city, displaying a splendour similar to that of Greek cities of the period (p. 78-79). This last factor seems also to be reflected in the title of the aforementioned exhibition: *La grande Roma dei Tarquini*.

As to the archaeological evidence itself, the elements used for the reconstruction were found in the course of extremely difficult excavations conducted by means of small, deep *sondages*. The sparse lines on Carandini's plans figs. 166-169, pls. 49 and 51 tally with the reconstruction in his pls. 50, 52, 57, 58, and 63 in so far as the outer limits of the insula are concerned, but there is barely any evidence for the reconstruction of the internal walls, floors and sewers. Furthermore, we cannot safely assign all the wall structures to one and the same building, still less to one and the same insula. Houses I and II come out at some 540 square metres, together occupying the entire insula, house III occupied as much as 778 square metres.⁸ On the basis of the few lines on the plan, without having any clue as to how the

⁵ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton 1994; J.A. Dickmann, *Domus frequentata. Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus*, München 1999 - to name two outstanding studies only.

⁶ For a recent overview see P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine*, 2. *Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Paris 2001, 30-38. Cf. P. Carafa in Carandini/Carafa, pp. 266-274.

⁷ Carandini/Carafa, p. 238: 'Se escludiamo il famoso brano di Livio in cui Tanaquilla si affacciò dal secondo piano della sua casa presso la *porta Mugonia* per annunciare al popolo la morte del re, non possediamo nella tradizione letteraria altre indicazioni riguardo il numero dei piani delle case arcaiche.' With this wording Carandini only rhetorically suggests that the text may serve as an indication - a way of formulating (and reasoning) he frequently applies.

As a matter of fact, at Murlo traces of second floors have been found in the 'palazzo', but this house did not possess an atrium (information A.J. Nijboer).

⁸ Carandini explains his reconstruction as follows (p. 18): 'Lo stato frammentario dell'evidenza non giustifica mai la rinuncia alla ricostruzione, all'interpretazione: un muro non è mai soltanto un muro, ma la parte di un tutto che non possiamo comunque rimuovere.' While understanding the 'rhetorical' negative tense, one can also argue the opposite.

area investigated was divided, Carandini's former student and main collaborator Paolo Carafa concludes too enthusiastically (p. 266): 'Il dato più rilevante per la storia dell'architettura arcaica etrusco-italica sta a nostro avviso nella planimetria innovativa di questi edifici.' In fact, one could argue, on the basis of the same lines, for a series of smaller houses or even a single, free-standing house within an empty area, maybe used as a garden - similar to those reconstructed at Pompeii in the fifth and fourth centuries BC by Cees Peterse of Nijmegen University.⁹ The objects found in the houses too are scanty. For this reason the location of a kitchen in the rear part of the house, adjacent to a women's quarter, is highly hypothetical and, hence, questionable (pp. 245-246, 247). The reconstruction of the interior arrangements and decoration of the houses as shown in a plastic model is based entirely on the interior of certain Etruscan tombs and, again, on textual sources (pp. 244-248). Unfortunately, none of these elements can be substantiated by either archaeological evidence or written sources.

In respect to the latter form of evidence, I do not wish to become involved in the current heated debate on the reliability of the ancient texts.¹⁰ However, like other scholars, I have to cope with the problem of the time frame and structure of this period, characterised by the ancient authors on the basis of an image of society that matched that of their own experiences.¹¹

About the houses of central Italy we have little information before the fifth century, when the cities of Marzabotto and Cosa in Etruria and Pompeii in Campania come to our aid (p. 239; no publications mentioned in note 46 at p. 275).¹² At neither site, however, have houses of the *domus* type used by Carandini been found. Nor do the late-archaic houses excavated at Satricum, relatively near to Rome, by Dutch teams under the direction of Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink and Marijke Gnade, match the idea of a *domus*.¹³

Carandini himself admits that no atrium houses are known from Rome (p. 239), but assumes that these must have existed because of the large dimensions of the houses found by his excavation team. This conclusion smacks of circular reasoning and is more or less groundless. Even knowledge of the later houses - which Carandini also exploits in part - does not permit such an optimistic inference. Etruscan tombs from the sixth to the third centuries BC sometimes have a central room, similar in form to the atrium, from which one enters the tomb chambers containing the sarcophagi, urns and cippi. The idea of a house of the dead led various scholars to a reconstruction of Etruscan houses on the basis of this type of tomb.¹⁴ Unfortunately, Rome itself has

no examples of comparable tombs, and certainly not in the period of the Tarquinii with which we are dealing.

Carandini's archaeological team apparently wanted to find evidence for daily practice during the early history of Rome. In his polemically written introduction, Carandini pleads for an application *ad litteram* of the historical texts, notably Livy, on this 'hot spot' in the centre of Rome. His plans show how the early kings built their houses along the Sacra Via, near the *Lucus Vestae* - no traces of which have been found - and, as we *must* deal with royal houses, the traces of houses found further to the east *must* belong to large elite dwellings which could have been uniquely royal residences.

Regarding the 'Gesellschaft', the society of the period of the early kings of Rome, we do not know how the various levels functioned. It is an enormous step from Romulus' hilltop hut of straw and mudbrick to this type of dwelling in the valley. One wonders why these later kings left the top of the Palatine to settle near the Forum. It may be argued that this setting was chosen for a specific reason, namely because

⁹ Cf. C.L.J. Peterse, *Steinfachwerk in Pompeji*, Amsterdam 2000. Carandini reconstructs enclosed *horti* on the basis of (1) infant burials, (2) differences of level, (3) written sources (p. 239, 244).

¹⁰ See the critical discussion of some recent Italian publications by A.M. Bietti Sestieri: The role of archaeological and historical data in the reconstruction of Italian protohistory, in: *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara*, London 2000, 13-31. On Carandini 1997 (here cited in note 2) pp. 15-23.

¹¹ Carandini explains his position at pp. 63-64. See on sources and their impact in general T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*, London 1995, 1-30 and *passim*. A good example of discussion on the Etruscan kings and early Rome is that between the same Cornell and Rasmussen: T. Cornell, Ethnicity as a factor in early Roman history, in: T. Cornell/K. Lomas (eds.), *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*, London 1997, 9-21 and T. Rasmussen, The Tarquinians and 'Etruscan Rome', *ibid.*, 23-30. See for a discussion of this problem from the point of view of the Volscians M. Gnade, *Satricum in the Post-Archaic Period. A case study of the interpretation of archaeological remains as indicators of ethno-cultural identity*, Diss. Amsterdam 2000; in press (chapter 4 'The Volscians in Historiography').

¹² A sixth-century house at Roselle should have had an atrium (L. Donati, *La casa dell'impluvium: architettura etrusca a Roselle*, Roma 1994 [non vidi, information L.B. van der Meer]). On Marzabotto see A.J. Nijboer, *From household production to workshops: archaeological evidence for economic transformations, pre-monetary exchange and urbanisation in central Italy from 800 to 400 BC*, Groningen 1998, 171-182, 281-290, 328-331.

¹³ M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Settlement Excavations at Borgo Le Ferriere <Satricum>*, I-II, Groningen 1987, 1992; M. Gnade, *Le ricerche olandesi a Satricum dal 1977 ad oggi, MededRom* 56 (1997) 37-55; ead., in this volume pp. 19-32.

¹⁴ The connection between the layout of houses and tombs has recently been discussed by A. Naso, *Architetture dipinte. Decorazioni parietali non figurate nelle tombe a camera dell'Etruria meridionale*, Roma 1996, 301-340, esp. 320-340 (atrium-centred tombs).

it was near the new centre of Rome. The Forum area was in the process of a vigorous development and gaining growing importance within the late-archaic society of the *urbs*.¹⁵ The area had not yet, however, been used for building houses. There were old graveyards nearby, and the Forum, despite all the works that were taking place, must still have been rather empty and dampish. Rome was decidedly not a second Athens.¹⁶

Unfortunately, there seems little evidence available to justify the reconstruction of late Archaic society in Rome around the model of the *domus* that was fashionable in later periods. The nature of society in this early period and what the inhabitants of this small settlement aspired to, are matters that remain in darkness. In sum, Carandini's great enterprise has produced only wall fragments, not royal dwellings. In my opinion, the scientific goals of this project were prematurely defined and its outcome has been heavily influenced from the beginning by a certain degree of chauvinism. Carandini's research can be characterised as Etrusco- and Romanocentric - as 'campanilista': Carandini tries to reconstruct splendour during the earliest phase of historical Rome. As far as I can see, the results of the excavation have been

overestimated. My fear is that it will not be long before his fancy reconstruction plans become 'truth' and enter into student textbooks.¹⁷ A thorough check of his work will be essential but is not easy: the author has an enormous erudition in the field of classics, ancient history and religion and his knowledge of early Rome is unsurpassed. His style of writing is eloquent but complicated and outsiders can be lead into too ready an acceptance of the idea of a 'Grande Roma dei Tarquini'.¹⁸

KEIZERSGRACHT 643D
NL-1017 DT AMSTERDAM

¹⁵ See G. Tagliamonte, *LTUR* II (1995) 313-325 s.v. Forum Romanum (fino alla prima età repubblicana), esp. 322-323; C.J. Smith, *Early Rome and Latium*, Oxford 1996, 100-103.

¹⁶ In *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città* (see note 2), p. 188-189 a comparison is made with Athens.

¹⁷ See already Gros (see note 6), 36-37 with figs. 20-21.

¹⁸ Carandini facilitates this *iter* by inserting a booklet with a separate title, in which the main results and ideas are presented in a simpler form, accompanied by beautiful plates that obviate the need of a bulky text.

Addendum: see on Carandini's approach also T.P. Wiseman *JRS* 91 (2001) 187-193.